/464 cont./

411 The bow and arrow of the Yamana, however, merit a separate description.

To our regret, only four genuine specimens have been preserved from the older cultural heritage of the southernmost Fuegians. These will be dealt with primarily in the following description. For the bow stave, known as wíjana, wójana, [124] wúyana, they use, without exception, the wood of an Antarctic beech, almost always Nothofagus beruloides (168). As a whole

168. Erroneously Hyades (q):298 maintains that the Yamana use the wood of Maytenus magellanica for the bow stave. Actually this is almost absolutely inflexible.

the bow is somewhat shorter and also somewhat thinner than that of the Selk'nam. This explains why it has a greater curvature which is said to increase the propelling power of the string. The bow is scraped until the diameter of the center piece is 22 millimeters at the most. From the center which shows a roundish, almond-shaped transverse section, the bow stave tapers in both directions and terminates in short blunt ends. The distance in a straight line between these two ends varies between 120 and 140 centimeters, according to the general terms used by Martial:192.

411 114 The ethnographic collection of the University of Göttingen is justifiably proud of owning two bow staves which reached Europe through James Cook's second expedition. One of these belonged for a time to the private collection of the naturalist Reinhold Forster who, with his son George, took part as a scientist in that circumnavigation of the earth (166). /465/ These rare

166. These accounts permit us to draw a conclusion as to the origin of the two bow staves. As is known, Cook's fleet spent about a week toward the end of December, 1774, at Isla Waterman in the Paso de Navidad, during which time they were twice visited by the native Fuegians (p. 87 /unnumbered/). When they sailed on, the fleet was becalmed in front of Baïa de

/465 cont./

Buen Success, and on December 29th the captain sent a boat to shore there. The lieutenant was "received by several inhabitants" when he disembarked among them. George Forster (s):II, 390 adds: "Our men stayed with them only two or three minutes, embarked again, and hurried back on board" (Vol. I, 38). Now it is hardly to be assumed that in this short space of time the sailors were presented with two bows by the native Haus or Selk'nam. It seems much more plausible that at least the bow stave in the private collection of Forster was taken by the latter himself from a Tamaun on Isla Waterman, for he refers to this weapon in particular in his report. This probability is confirmed by the fact that the other objects in Göttingen that Cook brought back from his second expedition are characteristic specimens from the cultural heritage of the southernmost Fuegians. I refer to three bone spearheads, small necklaces of mussel shells, and a sling whose center section was made from a scrap of leather from the otter. The Selk'nam, as is well known, use only guanaco leather for their sling (Vol. I, 348).

specimens are 149 centimeters and 152 centimeters long. Lothrop (b):156 publishes a photograph (unfortunately too indistinct) of two bows which are also old and are in the Peabody Museum of Salem, "one the gift of Captain E. Shotwell, Jr., who obtained it in 1818, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably at George Harbor or Williamson Island" /cited in English/. The straight-line distance between the two ends is three feet, nine and one-half inches in the case of one, and four feet, one inch in the case of the other.

The details we have mentioned are characteristic of the bow staves of the Tamaun as well as of the Selk'nam. The latter, in addition, shows a distinct fluting which, for handwork, is usually regular. It is lacking in the two old pieces in the Peabody Museum, as Lothrop (b):156 emphatically points out, nor do we

/360 cont./

2. The Fuegian Dog

23/ 151

The dog, yáhla, must be regarded as a constant, indispensable member of the Fuegian family. It is taken for granted /361/ just like the children. The fact that the dog as their companion has been historically acknowledged for only a century is by no means without significance in the appraisal of the economic life of our Indians. The dog does not appear in written accounts nor in pictures given by the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (314). If we realize how obtrusively and persistently

> 314. Banks was the first European to report on the native dogs belonging to the Selk'nam whom he met on the southeast shore of Isla Grande in the year 1768. See Vol. I, 276.

Indian dogs rush up to every stranger and how excited they are for hours during his presence in the camp or in an individual hut, we are forced to conclude that those travelers of the earliest period just did not see the Fuegian dog and that the Yamana did not as yet own dogs. The conduct of these animals towards strangers is exceptionally conspicuous. No one recounting his experiences and impressions could have failed to describe the impudent behavior of the dogs (315).

> 315. These words surely do not express an unjustified expectation. Even if the native dogs had been friendly to the foreign visitor, the very fact that they were found in the company of Indians would have been reason enough for mentioning them. For example, Captain John Narbrough tells about his visit among the Patagonians in Puerto San Julián on the southern Patagonian coast, August 16, 1670, and says, among other things: "Their dogs are much of the race of Spanish dogs, large mongrel, but very tame: they were of a grey colour and were painted red in spots: they were very lean" /cited in

1: Gwinde--287 E-6 (1910-1954) 1937 S116 Yahgan S116

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114

/361 cont./

English/ (Burney:III, 343). Not even such modest references are given in the older travel accounts of those navigators who expressed themselves in detail and sometimes also very accurately about many other things concerning our Yamana.

In the face of complete silence for more than two centuries, we cannot help but be surprised that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost simultaneously, several different first references are made to the Fuegian dog. Weddell (a):94 is the first European to speak of it. On November 28, 1823, his fleet lay at anchor in Bahía San Francisco, between Horn Island and Hermit Island. Here one of his sailors acquired a young dog "which was conspicuous because of its intelligence." In this connection he relates that those natives "have only this kind of dog which resembles very much the fox and is about the size of a terrier. They love their dogs very much, and if they attribute supernatural power to any object, it is probably to dogs, for the care and attention to their welfare are extraordinary" (p. 66 /unrevised/). Unfortunately, Weddell does not say anything more about this animal.

A few years later, on the first trip of the "Beagle," King:413, 444 and Fitz-Roy repeatedly observed the dog. King:523 specified as follows: "The dogs are certainly of the domesticated kind, originally obtained, probably, from the Spanish settlements at /361/ Buenos Ayres, generally they resemble the Esquimaux breed, but are much more diminutive in size" /cited in English/. From the second journey of the "Beagle" Fitz-Roy (a):201 brought back a more extensive description of the Yamana dog (316). He was very surprised that "these dogs bark at

316. He (a):119 also occasionally referred to the neighboring Selk'nam, "accompanied by several large dogs" /cited in English/; (b):174 describes the dog of the Patagonians in much more detail. Soon after him the fleet of Captain Wilkes (a):I, 118 landed in Bahía Buen Suceso. There the latter saw

/562 cont./

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114

that "the natives had the common dog which they seemed to prize much" /cited in English/.

strangers with much fury; and they give tongue eagerly when hunting the otter" /cited in English/. At the same time Webster mentions the Fuegian dog (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/). Scarcely three years later Pickering:20 calls attention to the fact that "the presence of the dog among the tribes inhabiting this extreme point of America, is another fact that deserves attention" /cited in English/ (317). Simultaneously

> 317. Moreover he expressed the following conjecture: "America, when first visited by Europeans, appears to have contained but a single species of quadruped of foreign origin, the domestic dog" /cited in English/.

Wilkes (a):I, 129 (p. 114 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) and, three years later, in February, 1842, Ross (p. 122 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) refer to the constant companion of the Indian family. In travel accounts of subsequent decades up to our own day and in letters from the pens of missionaries, specific mention of the characteristics and services of the Fuegian dog is almost never lacking.

For obvious reasons the travelers, with very few exceptions, did not bother about the origin of this dog. Since most of them were not qualified, their descriptions give only an incomplete picture of the specific zoological nature of the dog. Fitz-Roy (a):201 mentioned useful details: "The dog of a Fuegian or Chonos Indian is small, active, and wiry, like a terrier with a cross of fox. His hair is usually rough, and dusky, or dark-coloured; but there are many dogs among the Fuegians almost white, or prettily spotted, some of which have fine smooth hair. All that were examined had the roof of their mouth black, the ears erect, large, and pointed, the nose sharp, like that of a fox; the tail drooping, and rather inclined to be bushy" /cited in English/. Snow (a):I, 334 points out only: "Their small, sharp, ferret-like dogs were exceedingly troublesome" /cited

231
114

/562 cont./
in English/ (318). According to Lovisato (b):102, "the dog of the

318. The following report dates from the 1860's, by which time the Yamana could easily acquire European breeds of dogs because of more frequent shipping: These Indians "have two kinds of dogs: one, a native breed, small and shaggy, with a pointed snout; and the others introduced by the ships. The two breeds actually live almost exclusively on fish and mollusks, being very skill-

Fig. 68. Male and Female Dogs.

ful at catching the latter, opening them, extracting the little animal cleanly, and eating it" /translated from Spanish/ (Outes [g]:53).

Yahgan is a cross between the fox and the wolf with shaggy, light hair, long, straight, and not very large ears, and a short, pointed tail" /translated from Italian/. Spegazzini (a):163 could hardly express himself more succinctly when he says, the dog "looks much like the common fox" /translated from Spanish/. Dabbene (b):185 writes more exactly: "They are /563/ small and ugly, with long, varicolored hair, a long snout, and large ears that look like those of a fox" /translated from Spanish/ (319). Martial:194 confirms that the dog is "small

319. We shall omit here other descriptions, for example, those of Lista (b):63 and Wieghardt:33.

/563 cont./

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114

and ugly, its hair long and fawn-colored, and its snout pointed resembling that of a fox" /translated from French/.

Incomparably more valuable than these casual and partial descriptions is Kuenckel's expert examination of two animals of pure breed. In Orange Bay Hyades acquired a newborn bitch from the Indians in January, 1883, and a male dog in February. He raised both animals himself, and since they quickly adjusted to their new masters (320). /Fig. 68 appears here/ he took them to

320. In striking contrast to full-grown animals "which do not let themselves be tamed by Europeans" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:365).

Paris with him in September of the same year (Fig. 68). Careful examination revealed: "As Fitz-Roy says, the dog of Tierra del Fuego is small, lively, nervous, resembling a terrier crossed with a fox; his fur is usually rough, sometimes soft, dark or blackish, but he is often completely white or nicely spotted. All the specimens examined had black palates and mouths, straight, large, and pointed ears, noses tapering like that of the fox, the tail hanging down, with a tendency to become bushy" /translated from French/. Agreeing literally with Hyades (q):364, Kuenckel:138 continues: "Well proportioned in its small midriff, the Fuegian dog is characterized by straight, large, pointed ears, by his long, very pointed snout; he also looks like an animal that is more savage than domestic, shaped very much like the jackal; the color of his fur is extremely varied; it is often uniformly dull fawn-colored /564/ which increases its resemblance to this latter animal; frequently, also, the basic color is white and the body is mottled with large black (Tapan) or fawn-colored spots (Katekita) (321); thus Katekita seems to have more natural

321. These are the names of the male and female animals of the above-mentioned pair.

markings. The paws are plainly palmate. This is the physical picture " /translated from French/. This detailed description is

/564 cont./

231 supplemented by Dechambre's thorough examination and by the
114 appended measurements of the bodies of these two dogs (322).

322. Reprinted in Hyades (q):391. The less ample body measurements given by another investigator named Nocard are also published in Hyades (ibid., p. 365). Compare also Hyades (h):39 in connection with this whole subject.

In 1895 and 1896 Otto Nordenskjoeld brought back to Sweden the skeleton of a native dog from his journey to Tierra del Fuego. It came from an animal of the eastern Yamana, which, according to his opinion, could be regarded as one of pure breed. The skeleton was conscientiously studied by Loennberg:10, and each individual part was measured. On the basis of it he also made comparisons with other South American canines. Unfortunately Nordenskjoeld did not leave a description of this animal whose skeleton is now in Stockholm, nor of other Yamana dogs. During a personal interview with him I learned only about the general characteristics of this zoological variety, which were already known to me.

231 During the years of my sojourn in Tierra del Fuego there was
177 not a single pure-bred Indian dog left. In the case of most of the dogs one could easily see what foreign cross-breed they came from. The Whites living there introduced various breeds of dogs and distributed them among the Indians. The latter's dogs were not only very dangerous to strangers, but also caused grave injury among the breeding animals, especially among the sheep.

231 Fred Lawrence confirmed what the older natives had told me: the native dog was of medium size and had a thick, shaggy coat of medium length and predominantly dirty brown in color with irregularly distributed large light spots. The head drooped forward a little and ended in a long, pointed snout. The standing, narrow, medium-length ears were sharply pointed. The eyes were slanting. The long, bushy tail curled up in a half circle. In general the animals had a strong, firm build, but were long and lean. As recently as 1924 several Indians compared the native dog to the

/628 cont./

181 The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

594 The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not eaten away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

581 /629/ The individual family consisting of parents and children is
594 basically independent and a compact union. It is founded on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for life-long union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

581 177 Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign influences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Yamana (1).

583 1. What has been recorded from still older
● 14

/629 cont./

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periods lacks the proper completeness and accuracy. As an example, which we could replace by even more inadequate ones, Fitz-Roy (a):182 will suffice. He writes about how a bride is obtained: "As soon as a youth is able to maintain a wife, by his exertion in fishing or bird-catching, he obtains the consent of her relations, and does some piece of work for her parents. Having built or stolen a canoe for himself, he watches for an opportunity, and carries off his bride. If she is unwilling, she hides herself in the woods until her admirer is heartily tired of looking for her, and gives up the pursuit; but this seldom happens" /cited in English/. Now one should compare this with the following lines on how a marriage actually takes place.

84 I, too, began my observations at a time when original conditions were already showing changes here and there as a result of the devastating influence of European civilization. Hence my research could not rest solely on direct observation, but was largely dependent on questions and inquiries. Fortunately, at that time I met several older men and women who still vividly recalled all the laws and customs upon which marriage and family life were built in former times. They themselves had strictly retained almost all the activity of the missionaries and the influence of European civilization. Even though these conditions of research were less favorable, they at least helped me to grasp clearly those principles of the marriage institution and the course of family life that in former times were exclusively valid.

114 If we contrast with this the judgments and assertions of travelers of former times, we see with frightening clarity how little truth they often contain and how boldly and unscrupulously they were circulated. They not only burdened my research work, but it sometimes also became a highly ungrateful task. /630/ It is a satisfaction to me, however, that the final result, as it is contained in the following pages, has been set forth in detail and without error.

/630 cont./

114 Since the year 1923, when I bade farewell to the Yamana forever, the majority of the older persons who served me as reliable informants in my investigations have gone to a better world. Today it is impossible to determine accurately and completely the unaffected institutions of former times on the basis of questions (2), because very few survivors of the tribe either know

> 2. About a year after me Lothrop (b):161 tried to determine the customary terms of relationship of these natives. He confesses: "It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used" /cited in English/.

enough about them or grew up in them. Without doubt it was also the eleventh hour for me to undertake the research if it was to be successful and consolidate the total of previous factual data.

a. Proposal and Marriage

584 Among a people like the Yamana, who are divided into individual families, each devoting itself to food-seeking independently of others, the approach of two loving hearts and their union in marriage escapes the notice of an observer who spends but a short time there (3), for neither the courtship nor the

> 3. On the basis of reports hitherto available about courtship and the selection of partners, Cooper:164 came to the mistaken conclusion that "there are no fixed forms" /cited in English/.

wedding are surrounded by conspicuous festivities. Certain customs, however, are observed on these occasions. They are so pronounced that on the basis of them alone, excluding all verbal communication, the marital union of two young tribal members is recognized by the immediate neighborhood. Just as these two events take place according to definite, simple rules, so there

/662 cont./

604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

581 In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life.
593 Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the
[177] original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

1. Monogamy

•114 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs
585 of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he had enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest errors. Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

/663 cont./
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595
this arrangement was prevalent, generally approved, or only tolerated under certain conditions (45). Bridges obviously contra-

45. Cooper;166 has assembled a few more recent opinions. We might also add Furlong (b):131, Dabbene (b):179, Lothrop (b):163, Oates (g):55, and others.

dicts himself. After he had spent the first decade on his Keppel, he wrote: "Polygamy is very general. Thus Jemmy Button has three sisters for his wives..., in fact, the marriage of two or three sisters by the same man is not the exception but the rule" /cited in English/ (MM:III,117;1869). For the time being, let us disregard the last-mentioned inaccuracy (46). Seventeen years

46. Eleven years previously, on December 10, 1858, Despard had long since corrected this false accusation: "Jemmy Button declared that the report of his having three wives was all stories. 'No, I got only two -- other woman my sister'" /cited in English/ (VP:VI,129;1859). Only after he let his first wife go did he take the second one.

later he (b):206, consciously or unconsciously, makes a considerable qualification: "In some places the rule is to have one wife; in others many have two, some three, and up to four" /translated from Spanish/. At that time Bridges did not know a large part of the Yamana, and for this reason alone his assertion has little credibility. Finally, after another seven years /664/ he (k):234 makes an almost frank revelation which seems like a refutation of his earlier opinions. He confesses: "But when one came to know them [the Yaganes] well, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists, and that, in general, they respected the rights that arise from family life" /translated from Spanish/. It took long years of observation on his part until he properly understood the obvious and significant arrangement of a Foegian marriage in its actual form.

/664 cont./

Previously Bridges had doubtless made the error, into which other Europeans before and after him had fallen, of regarding every adult woman in a hut or in a canoe as the wife of the man who happened to be present. The sister-in-law who, with her sister, was staying with her brother-in-law was not always his wife, nor was this the case with an older woman who, because she was alone, had been taken into the family by him. The same applies to relatives who happened to be living together for a time. A few years before this, in March, 1864, Stirling had reported: "The custom of the people here [in Packsaddle Bay] is to have but one wife; at Woolya a man often has three wives" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI,239;1864). Is it not possible that a false observation dictated these last words?

Hyades (4):378, however, very definitely represented the view that monogamy predominates: "Although there is quite a number of men who have two, three, and even four wives, the custom is nevertheless to have only one" /translated from French/ (47).

47. He is consistent in this opinion and says in another place that "polygamy...is permitted but not the rule" /translated from French/. Lothrop (5):163 did not form an opinion and repeats, following Bridges, "the number [of wives] was not fixed by custom" /cited in English/.

Martial:198 agrees with him, saying: "The Fuegians sometimes practice polygamy; they rarely have three and even four wives; sometimes two, more often one" /translated from French/. Dabbene (5):188 emphasizes: "It is the custom to have only one [wife]" /translated from Spanish/. On the basis of the opinions of a few travelers of the last decades, Cooper:186 came to the following conclusion: "As Mr. Bridges and the members of the French Cape Horn expedition had much more experience among the Tahgans than had the members of the Italo-Argentinian expedition, it is more probable that the former authorities' estimate is the truer one, namely, dominant monogamy with, however, considerable polygamy" /cited in English/. Present conditions

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[544]

maintain. According to the common custom, everyone in a hut may eat what is there and whenever he pleases (p.334).

from a feeling of common humanity, while the other is nursing an infant. Both of them freely take part in the daily activities. A great deal is automatically regulated by the fact that the younger woman must take care of her small children. In most polygamous marriages the first wife is unable to work or is weak, but in any case the second wife /570/ has more or less all the work in the hut or the canoe. If, as often happens, they are sisters, the daily work runs harmoniously and smoothly.

In some cases, however, the relationship between two wives can be very much disturbed by envy and jealousy, if the two are not related, if the man shows more love and affection for the younger of the two, if he obviously treats her with more friendliness and tenderness. The first wife, who now is clearly aware of her [571] lawful pre-eminence, controls her silent envy for a long time. Later, in regular scenes of jealousy, she violently reproaches her husband. Finally, if all her efforts to win his love are in vain, she definitely leaves him. Such conditions are the exception in polygamous marriages and probably occur only when the husband wants to get rid of his first wife. The two rivals almost always live together harmoniously, particularly if the older one is dependent on the younger because of physical ailments and even more often if both are sisters. Then neither one is jealous of the demonstrations of affection which the other receives from their common husband, no matter how interestingly the favoritism is displayed. The first wife never relinquishes her own rights (58).

58. The meaning of kilmuna which BD:188
gives, "to cause the first wife to take the
place in the wigwam of the second or third"
/cited in English/, has no legal significance.

[544] Here is an example of how unreliably two Europeans who visited our Yaghans simultaneously reported on one and the same arrangement. According to Spegazzini (p).166, "the peace of

/670 cont./

the family is never disturbed" through polygamy, "no altercations among [the wives], neither jealousy nor favoritism" /translated from Spanish/. Bove (e):157, on the other hand, maintains: "Although...a man takes as many women (59) as he pleases, one

59. Apparently leaning on Bove, Wieghardt:38 repeats verbatim that "with so many women around [namely, with four wives], domestic felicity disappears entirely" /translated from Spanish/.

nevertheless seldom sees man with more than four wives. It seems that with such a number of wives domestic happiness is no longer secure and the hut or canoe is daily turned into a battlefield, so that a young and beautiful wife probably sometimes pays with her life for the favoritism which the man shows her. It is worse for the man when the women settle their own quarrels and combine against the head of the house, in which case it probably becomes clear to him that even a single woman can at times be very uncomfortable." Faced with the inventive spirit of one who can produce such battle scenes, I for my part remain silent.

In spite of everything, it is true that individual men lived simultaneously with two women, for the most part two sisters, but the great majority of marriages were monogamous. A few authorities surmised that, as an extremely rare exception, a man also had three wives, /671/ who were almost always sisters. There is no reliable evidence for this number or for a larger number of wives. There was probably always some reason for polygamous marriages, most of them arising from the existing division of labor and the obligation of the brother-in-law to marry a widow. Most of the European observers erroneously regarded every woman accompanying a man as his wife and hence very much exaggerated the extent of polygamy. Again we should like to remind the reader of the considerable modification that the experienced Bridges (k):243 made in his earlier, hasty assertions, for after living with these Indians for almost 40 years, he frankly confessed: "When one came to know the Yamana well, it appeared that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists!"

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1. The First Observations

X 881 114

The Yamana guard their secret youth initiation with extreme vigilance. A stranger would never be able to surprise them in the midst of it, and it would be still more impossible for him to force his way in unobserved. From the start, therefore, it was impossible for the navigators of earlier times to find out anything about it from direct observation. In general their stay in one place or another was much too short to obtain even a few superficial observations. They would have had to fulfill quite different preliminary conditions if they had wanted to get at these particularly well-guarded cultural possessions. It would be futile to look in their travel accounts for reports about the initiation. The Europeans who later visited the territory of the Yamana as gold-hunters and sealers showed neither an aptitude for ethnographic observations nor an understanding of what they saw in the way of native customs. Finally, those who settled there as farmers dismissed everything indigenous with the contemptuous shrug of the self-confident, mindless, conceited, civilized human being. Completely unobserved by any of them, the Yamana continued to hold their secret festive gatherings with a certain regularity.

X 881 797 114

After the Anglican mission became well acquainted with the Yamana and their way of life was constantly observed by the missionaries, it could not fail to happen that the attention of the latter was called to the occasional gathering of many families in the same place and that, in the course of decades of close proximity, they obtained a few faint hints from the natives. The missionaries, also, however, paid far too little attention to these first clues to put such an important institution, which the Yámana pre-eminently is, in the service of their evangelistic efforts. Quite generally they regarded and treated the cultural heritage of the Yamana contemptuously (p. 322 /untranslated/).

X 881 114

Again it is Bridges to whom we are indebted for the first discoveries and who was the only one among all the missionaries who gave us brief but valuable reports. From his writings we cannot infer with certainty whether he distinguishes clearly between the actual youth initiation, Yámana, and the very different men's ceremony, klóo. In his Dictionary he lists many of the so-called

/809 cont./

X881 114 the spirit, and what he says in his essays about the schooling of young people actually fits the latter institution much better /810/ than the Kina. Today, when both ceremonies are familiar to us with respect to their entire procedure and their principal aim, it is easy to assign with certainty the material we find in Bridges either to one or the other. Hence we shall now gather together from his written accounts everything that pertains to the youth initiation.

In his first longer essay (240) of 1866, Bridges (a):204 gives

> 240. It is entitled: "Manners and Customs of the Firelanders." Above all it contains reports about family life and the rearing of children. On February 7, 1866, Bridges introduced it with the words: "A short account of the Firelanders of the Yahgûn /sic/ Tribe, inhabiting the shores of Southwest Fireland, compiled from what I have heard from the Indians themselves, during three and a half year's constant converse with them" /cited in English/ (VSA XIII, 181, 1866).

some facts: "When boys and girls come to the years of virility they undergo a kind of discipline and teaching, which generally begin in the spring. This is done to make them quiet and good. The discipline of the girls is easy and brief, conducted in the common wigwam by her parents...They call the discipline of the girls Tôort (241), that of the boys Oushwhâle. The lads of about

> 241. Clearly this compulsory seclusion and what follows refers to the special customs in connection with the girls' menarche (p. 347).

thirteen years of age are considered fit for this discipline" /cited in English/. In the sentences following he mentions certain details that take place in a special hut: "It is called Ceene" /cited in English/. In other words, he still confuses the two ceremonies. What now follows refers largely to the youth initiation, and the admonitions in particular are almost exactly the same as those we

/E19 cont./

noted: "When the lads become thirteen years old they are then subjected to a sort of teaching and discipline. They are by their near male relatives for some days wholly taken from their female relatives, are not allowed to eat this and that kind of food, are forced to be very abstemious, are made to work hard in gathering fuel and making fires on the [illegible] ground, whenever they go abroad a guard goes with them to see that they do not indulge themselves. When they are sufficiently humbled they receive such instructions as the following from their sires: 'You must not be pestilent, and kill people, else you will make enemies and be yourself soon killed. You must not take another man's wife by force, else you will suffer for it. You must not be stingy, but share with others any treasure you may find. You must not be idle, but assist to supply the house with fuel'; and many other such-like precepts, all which the young fellow is supposed to assent unto. Secrecy is strictly enjoined, at the peril of his life, of the secrets and the chants he has been made privy to. And for several years the youths are to abstain from the use of certain kinds of fish and shell-fish, and of certain well-defined parts of whales, etc. Sometimes the fasting is so severe and of long continuance that the youths become very emaciated and weak" /cited in English/ (Mat.III,117;1880).

In the following 20 years Bridges scarcely learned anything further about this /E11/ ceremony. He (b)-288 has only the following to say: "The adolescents of both sexes are subjected to a period of discipline which consists of fasting, extremely rigorous at times, and moral instruction" /translated from Spanish/. This opinion is also expressed in a final reference (b)-346 seven years later: "At a certain age adolescent boys were subjected to severe discipline under the tutelage of their uncles or other close relatives, they fasted and performed hard labor to inculcate on them great humility, honesty, chastity, patience, industry, and respect for truth. While they were under this discipline and instruction, they were called [illegible]" /translated from Spanish/. Certain details are pointed out by Bridges (j)-17 in a manuscript which probably dates from February 2, 1878. Again he assigns to the [illegible] certain parts which belong to the [illegible] (346). He does not

346. "The initiation of the boys and girls took

L. Custodio--447 S-S (1910-1954) 1037 1098 Tsitgan 098

/911 cont./

> place when they were between fourteen and sixteen years old....Abstinence from food was enforced from both, and the fasting of the lads was often severe resulting in many instances in leanness and debility. Both sexes received, after a longer or shorter season of abstinence, good moral precepts with reasons for observing them, whereby their friends honestly thought to fit them for their future life. For example, smoking and lying were forbidden because they brought suffering and trouble, diligence, generosity and faithfulness in marriage were enjoined because they ensured peace and happiness...." /cited in English/ Bridges (1:17).

mention anywhere that for the latter ceremony boys and girls together gather in the same Ceremonial Lodge. Many of the precepts and restrictions for the candidates of the Tsitsqoyi are repeated for those of the Kiha.

If we now consider the fact that in the large Tsimshian Dictionary Boas is no particular distinction made between the two ceremonies, it seems very probable that Bridges was under the false impression that there was a single secret ceremony, namely, Kiha, for he mentions many spirits of the latter, whereas there are only two definite references to the Tsitsqoyi. BD:276 gives the word Tsimsi, "the singing and mode of rites peculiar to the Kiha dance" /cited in English/. Furthermore, BD:203 gives Gyi'hem, "the rites and ceremonies (being superstitious, lying, obscene, dramatic and monotonous plays) in connection with the thereto or Secret wigwam in which these rites were enacted" /cited in English/. The word mentioned twice undoubtedly corresponds to the Tsitsqoyi, which in our presence, too, was accidentally pronounced Tsitsq, Tsiq, and Tsiqq. In any case, Bridges evidently did not grasp the distinct and significance of the youth initiation and in all probability overlooked the fact that it is separate from the Kiha.

It is well known that in modern times novelists have drawn very publicity on the observations and experiences of the missionary among the Tsimshian. Since he himself did not have

/811 cont./

accurate information about the youth initiation, it is by no means strange that there is absolutely no reference to it in the latest writings. Hyades (4):276 mentions "the custom of submitting boys who have reached the age of adolescence to a kind of initiation" /translated from French/. His subsequent statements, however, are an almost verbatim repetition of what /812/ Bridges (1):17 gives and of what applies largely to the kina (243). Beyond

243. We need not exclude the possibility that the members of the Mission Scientifique vaguely had their attention called to it. Thus Martial 221 writes that the natives "have some entertainment in which we have not taken part" /translated from French/. In any case, what Cooper 136 assumes is inaccurate: "By the time of the French expedition in 1882-83, and even before, the boy initiations had fallen into desuetude among the Yahgans" /cited in English/. Certainly, "they still preserved a simpler puberty rite, including fasting and moral instruction also has since then been repeated, as I have shown above.

that, up to the time of my last journey, no one made even the slightest reference to the youth initiation. Several months after my last trip Lothrop (8):165 came to Tierra del Fuego. He did not do any independent research on this, and in his account he refers to our conclusions (244), but he did obtain the objects used

244. He (8):165 writes: "Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject" /cited in English/.

in the Yahgan. Even recently Spencer:111 succumbs to the mistake of confusing the two secret ceremonies, and the facts which

1. Gusinde--649 8-5 (1910-1924) 1937 Ona Yahgan Onā

/812 cont./

X881 J14 be probably gathered independently are valid only for the men's ceremony.

If all that Bridges noted down about the common training of youth at puberty is applied, even unjustifiably, to the youth initiation, it seems so meager that the character of this secret rite is not recognizable even in rudimentary form. It remained completely undisclosed to European insight, like so many other valuable treasures, until shortly before the decline of this people.

2. My Participation

X881 123 It seems to me important to point out that up to my second journey the above references in Bridge's writings were completely unknown to me. My vague conjecture that in the declining years of these people I would still discover secret ceremonies was precipitated by a reference of Cooper's 116 that among the Yamana such rites had not been held for at least four decades. Since I was nevertheless privileged to experience the men's secret rites and the school for the medicine men, besides the initiation, I may be justified in maintaining that I was the sole discoverer of the Kina and the first to understand its underlying idea.

There is no other institution about which our Indians are so strictly silent as they are about the youth initiation. Their reticence in this matter could be compared only with their habit of never repeating the name of a deceased person. In their daily life there is actually almost no occasion to speak of it, and if it [95] should be necessary, they regularly resort to circumlocution which they are also fond of using on other occasions. One would not go astray in tracing to this circumstance the fact that Bridges could learn little more than the name /813/ of this ceremony. Fred Lawrence, who at the time of my first initiation had been married to Nelly almost 20 years, had learned from her, as well as from the rest of the Yamana, a great many of their customs, and had himself been a good observer, had only a few vague impressions about the Kina. His other brother Martin knew nothing at all about it. As for the venerable Reverend John Lawrence, he had one of his greatest surprises when I outlined my experience to him after my first participation. Two years later I told him that I took

1.Canada--Ind. S-S (1919-1956) 1957 Ont. Religion Ont.

[18] /18R cont./
play of forces in this ethnic group on the Cape Horn Archipelago now belongs to the past. /Fig. 88 appears here./

/19R/ Part 4

The Spiritual World of the Yamana

[19] There was a time not far back when people quite generally and as a matter of course inferred from the poverty and simplicity of the external arrangements and the objects used by a primitive people that they were lacking in ideas and that their spiritual world was limited. Ever since the Yamana were visited and superficially observed by European navigators, the entire cultured world has classed them among the most unworthy representatives of the human race on account of their inexplicable native land and the unbearable conditions of their existence. Bridges 48 and others often repeated: "The Fuegians are, according to Humboldt Forster's remarks, 'apparently the most miserable of all peoples.'" They were judged solely by what caught the eye and by the hasty first impression that their outerdress and unattractive appearance, their way of life, and their wild behavior inevitably makes upon every European. Once established, the general opinion became deeply entrenched and continued to be supported by this or that report which sounded somewhat more favorable. How could such a report have brought about a complete change of the previously held view when the Yamana themselves did not change in any way outwardly!

[19] [12] It is not enough to evaluate a human group solely by what strikes the eye, for that reason modern ethnography in all seriousness desires penetration into the spiritual domain of every tribe.

[34]

Fig. 88. Diomedea exulans.

/1618 con./

Unfortunately, the Europeans who had all kinds of opportunities to do this during their sojourn on the Cape Horn Archipelago did not fully meet this demand. In their defense it is willingly admitted that they were given no particular assignment to do this, nor were they specially prepared. The English missionaries, who, in retrospect, must be loudly praised for their exemplary zeal in the study of the Yamana language, strangely enough made almost no effort to gain a deeper understanding of the souls of these Indians, despite the fact that they lived with them for decades. A small residual group of survivors was already on the brink of the grave into which a once populous tribe had by now disappeared, when as yet no full account of their /1619/ spiritual endowment had been offered by reliable research and preserved for the history of humanity. Hence I chose to make it my most important task to rescue these treasures at the eleventh hour. No less a person than W. Schmidt (S:XII) declares "that, as far as the spiritual culture of the Fuegians is concerned, [my] four expeditions alone surpass in quantity as well as quality of achievements all the work of the previous authors put together."

A number of favorable circumstances helped me to this work, and these will have to be mentioned in the proper place. In spite of decades of contact with a great many features of European culture, the Fuegians have retained the vital content of their spiritual heritage, not only practically intact, but also in its pristine state. This shows that it was vital and irreplaceable for them, and that what it was that the undisturbed continuance of the people as a whole was impossible. The Yamana themselves know what it was that held them together and what was guaranteed them by orderly, peaceable conditions of life. They called it simply "that which was handed down to us by our forefathers in the way of habits and customs." They were also unanimously aware that their doom would be sealed the moment they deviated from it or were prevented by outside influences from carrying on their tribal life according to the previous patterns.

I remained aware of my serious responsibility while undertaking the four expeditions into the Cape Horn region, and I ceaselessly tried to feel my way into the strange conceptual world of the Yamana. This required time and in this I was helped by the long five months away from Tierra del Fuego between the four separate

L: Gusinde--948 S-0 (1919-1924) 1937 5106 Yahgan 5106

/1031 cont./

expeditions. My repeated return, on the other hand, properly strengthened the Indians in their belief that I esteemed them and their various institutions highly. That is why they proved more accommodating and more trusting from one year to the next and were more willing to let me take part in one thing or another from which they had previously excluded me. The more I tried to rid myself of the European way of thinking and acquired values and to exchange them for those of the Fuegians, the more advance I made in learning their subjective qualities. The hoary connoisseurs of tribal tradition felt this approach very definitely and with great satisfaction, regarded me more and more as one of themselves, and finally let me penetrate into the immeasurable depths of the inner spirit of their tribe. After arduous research and by means of constant observation and thorough discussion, those treasures from the spiritual heritage of the much misunderstood Yamana which fill the following pages were brought to light. They are all the more valuable because they reach back into the early age of mankind from which they have been preserved down to our own day because of the complete isolation of the famed Cape Horn Archipelago at the southern tip of America.

/1032/ A. Religion and Morality

Because of their nomadic way of life the Yamana do not possess the compact unity enjoyed, for example, by an agricultural society. It is probably for this reason that they have cultivated a high level of mental flexibility and that they show alertness in all spheres of their human endeavors. Hence it was possible for definite, universally binding forms to develop only to a limited extent, since, on the one hand, the numerically scant population lives scattered in many, small fragmentary groups and, on the other hand, each of these groups, as well as the single individual, strives to preserve for itself the greatest possible freedom and independence.

Even more striking is the scarcity of definite forms expressing their religious conceptions. As such, these are very limited, and people like our Fuegians do not parade them. Quite the contrary, everything supernatural is regarded by them with such seriousness and piety that they do not make it the subject of long, penetrating

/1034 cont./

closely associated with it is the entire store of rules and regulations which can be described, in a word, as their universal moral law, which really involves moral responsibility. In this abstract limitation of religion there is no place in the religious sphere for the belief in other spirits, in souls living after death, in ancestors and culture-bearers; hence these beliefs will be discussed in separate sections. This sharp distinction, which is based on the different ideas and conceptions of the Yamana, is primary in giving an outsider clear insight and reliable judgment.

It must be surprising to learn that until the most recent times travelers and missionaries have categorically denied that our Fuegians have any religious ideas and practices. Some Europeans did not even credit them with the necessary mental capacity. Hence the Yamana were universally regarded as irreligious. Occasionally there were references to a belief in spirits and certain supernatural beings, but, besides being extremely inadequate and inaccurate, they do not even pertain to the realm of the strictly religious. It was not until my journeys that this ideological heritage, which deserves consideration because of its richness and its characteristic value, was uncovered.

No other aspect of the cultural heritage of a people poses so many and such serious difficulties for European investigators as the religious. A definite method for its general evaluation can hardly be devised, but one who strives for any kind of success may not deviate from certain guide lines. Those navigators who had only fleeting contact for brief hours with individual Fuegians were obviously incapable of grasping anything tangible about the natives' religious heritage, for, as has been said, the Yamana certainly do not parade their faith.

It surprises everyone who reviews the situation, and justifiably so, that this field was not opened up even to the missionaries, in spite of decades of association with the Indians (1). Although the

1. Even Tylor, Anfänge der Cultur /Beginnings of Culture/, Vol. I, p. 411, acknowledged: "There is no people without a language and without religion, for even if individual peoples maintain that they have no religious concepts, it is to be suspected that they conceal

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their thoughts, especially since the missionaries are not always able to gain the confidence of savages or to understand their views."

missionaries tried to approach them, they did not take the right /1035/ course (2). It is a well known fact that, since the estab-

2. Despard (b):746 very early speaks of his efforts: "We used our increasing knowledge of the language, to ascertain their ideas on religious subjects, and we discovered that they have no knowledge whatever of God, or of a First Cause in creation, no idol or other object of worship, no custom of prayer or incantation" /cited in English/.

lishment of the Protestant mission, travelers in the Beagle Channel region have not only relied on the opinions of the missionaries living there for their judgment of the Yamana, but have almost imperceptibly adopted this opinion as their own, the foremost example being the members of the Mission Scientifique, whose publications have served others, in turn, as their only source. Individual efforts to grasp the religious ideology of the Yamana were only occasionally made by this or that traveler. If one examines their procedures more closely, he will realize why their efforts remained fruitless. For example, Spegazzini (a):191 declares: "I have asked the oldest people if they know where they came from and who their ancestors were; they looked at me in wonder, and answered that the grandfather had died in a neighboring bay, like their father, and that they had never said anything on the subject. Religious ideas, too, are completely lacking, and the sole belief is one about the spirits of the dead, but it is neither very nighly developed nor very definite" /translated from Spanish/. Even Hyades (f):587 realized that the goal would not be reached by direct questioning (3). Although he personally did

3. He clearly confesses: "I need not say that direct questions addressed to the Fuegian savages are useless for any light on the question

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> of a special cult among their people. Similarly, they will never spontaneously make any disclosures on this matter" /translated from French/.

not notice any kind of religious activity, he had the right idea when he warned that on the strength of this alone one should not conclude that they were entirely without religion (4). His well

> 4. He (b):1346 says: "We have never seen evidence of any kind of cult; we have no clear proof of a belief in a future life. It might be beneficial to remark that these negative signs do not constitute positive proof of the absence of all religious feeling" /translated from French/.

considered words were completely ignored by others, which is precisely why there was a constant repetition of thoughtless statements about the lack of anything religious among the Fuegians. Adding up these voices does not in itself increase their credibility, for they all more or less go back to a single source, namely, the view of the English missionary Thomas Bridges (p. 144 /untranslated/) which has proved to be erroneous.

1. Opinions of Travelers

As may be expected, the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in other words, of the older period, dismissed the religious views of the Yamana with a few superficial words. They were /1036/ unable to communicate with them even by means of elementary signs, let alone by speech. There are no visible portrayals of religious faith, any more than there are conspicuous rites. How, therefore, could these Europeans who had almost no preparatory training for such difficult observations learn anything about the strictly guarded treasure of spiritual possessions!

Weddel made a first attempt, which was seriously meant, but very inappropriate, when he "read them a chapter out of the

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Bible." He himself was not surprised that the Fuegians "did not seem to understand" him (p. 70 /untranslated/). Captain Fitz-Roy (s): 179 was not able to determine definitely whether they believe in any kind of divine being: "Ideas of a spiritual existence, of beneficent and evil powers, they certainly have; but I never witnessed or heard of any act of a decidedly religious nature, neither could I satisfy myself of their having any idea of the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. Wisely, he abstained from further opinions. The reports that Darwin sent out into the wide world about their spiritual life were very nearly disastrous for our Indians. We shall repeat here only a few sentences from (f):I, 123: "The belief in spiritual forces will easily lead to the belief in the existence of a god or of several gods, for savages will naturally attribute to spirits the same passions, the same lust for revenge or the simplest form of justice, and the same affection which they have experienced within themselves. In this respect the Fuegians seem to be in a middle state...And yet we could never find that the Fuegians believed in what we would call a god or that they carried out any kind of religious practices. Jemmy Button stoutly maintained, with justifiable pride, that there is no devil in his country, and this assertion is all the more strange since, among savages, the belief in evil spirits is more common by far than the belief in good ones..." Briefly and precisely he also assures us: "We have no reason to assume that they practice any kind of religious service" (p. 102 /untranslated/). He and Fitz-Roy refer to the same informants, namely, the three young Fuegians who were brought back to England in 1830 on the "Beagle" (p. 88 /untranslated/). They cannot be regarded as reliable because of the contradictions and inaccuracies contained in their statements (5).

5. For example, Darwin (d):243 relies on Jemmy Button in his assertion "that in winter when they are tormented by hunger they would rather kill and devour their old women than slaughter their dogs" (pp. 102, 236 /both in untranslated portion/). As for Button's compatriots, Darwin (d):246 also asserts: "The nearest approach to a religious

1: Gusinde--954 E-6 (1918-1924) 1937 5265 Yahgan 5195

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feeling that became known to me was shown by York Minster, who, when Mr. Bynoe shot a few very young ducks as specimens, declared in the most solemn manner: 'oh! Mr. Bynoe, much rain, much snow, much blowing.' This was evidently meant as punishment in retaliation for devastation by human beings."

While these three young Fuegians were in London in 1830 they were carefully examined. In the "Phrenological Remarks" given in Fitz-Roy (b):148, "strong feelings for a Supreme Being" /cited in English/ are set forth. These few words are to me no proof for the definite and clear form of belief in a deity which our Yamana actually have. Compare Koppers, in Anthropos, Vol. 22, p. 286; 1927.

Nevertheless, from all sides Darwin's assertions have /1937/ received full credence and the opinions of subsequent decades continued to refer to him, although toward the end of his life he changed his opinion in favor of the Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/). On the other hand, Roskoff:49 did not take a stand until rather late when he briefly corrected Darwin as follows: "But this does not deny the Fuegians any trace of religion, even though it cannot be surprising that the Englishman does not find among them his own belief in a God."

[197] A few decades after the second trip of the "Beagle," that is to say, in more recent times, English missionaries began their activity on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and after that the number of European visitors to that region increased. They all, practically without exception, sought help from the missionaries, or at least had temporary contact with them. This is true first of Bove and his companions who crossed Tierra del Fuego in 1882 and 1884 and stayed for a while in Ushuaia with the missionaries there (p. 146 /untranslated/). Relying on their reports, he (g):236 first of all judges: "The Fuegians are not very superstitious and they have only very rudimentary religious beliefs" /translated from Italian/. He also (d):297 and (e):188 asserts: "They have a good and an evil

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deity, but the one is neither more nor less esteemed than the other. Cunpi, the devil, sometimes avenges himself, however, with storm, snow, and rain. The rainbow is a sign of his anger; the women and children are afraid of its appearance, but the men scold and spit at it" (6). There is some value in repeating a num-

6. In Cojazzi:105, under the heading, "Religione in genere /Religion in General/," one finds this statement just as it stands, and not another word.

ber of false statements; they clearly show how cautious one must be about accepting other reports by this same authority. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find his companion Lovisato (b):149 maintaining in similar tones: "They do not have any notion of God, hence no religion and no amulets of any kind" /translated from Italian/. Spegazzini (a):171 also traveled there at the same time (p. 147 /untranslated/). Of the Yamana he says only: "Religious ideas are completely lacking, and the sole belief is one about the spirits of the dead, but it is neither very highly developed nor very definite" /translated from Spanish/.

The members of the Mission Scientifique who, in their own opinions, were almost completely independent of the English missionaries, touched but lightly on the subject of religion for that very reason. They did not succeed in making successful observations of their own. Hyades (g):38 declares: "The French were unable to discover a trace of religious ideas among the Fuegians; as we know, the missionaries did not fare any better." Nevertheless, a number of indications made him (f):587 cautious in his judgment: /1938/ "All we can say about the religious feeling of the Fuegian savages is that it is limited, externally at least, to a hint of attention and feigned contemplation in the presence of a strange religious ceremony. Let us add that the Reverend T. Bridges positively told me that before his apostolate in Tierra del Fuego the Fuegians had no idea whatever of religion" /translated from French/. In his principal work he (q):253 repeats this view: "We have not verified any sign of religious feeling among the Fuegians..." /translated from French/. He is well aware of the grave import of his words, yet he persists in his

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771 conviction: "We do not believe that we can modify our opinion
114 about the absence of religious feeling among the Fuegians. We observed them very attentively from this point of view during the year that we spent among them; we were never able to perceive the slightest hint of any kind of cult or religious idea" /translated from French/.

One has the impression that, in view of such definite statements, there could be absolutely no contradiction (7). Even later,

> 7. Martial:212 takes into account the serious difficulties of the investigation being discussed, as a result of which, he says, it would not be easy "to obtain readily a clear idea of their beliefs about the deity and a future life" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):202, for example, maintains: "There is no knowledge that a religion exists among the Yahgan, since they practice no rite that reveals any cult whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/. According to Spears:70, "they knew nothing of God, and had no word expressive of such an idea" /cited in English/. Furlong (b): 137 agrees. The Fuegian "has no religion in the general acceptance of the term...No word for God, Creator, or pray has ever appeared in his language, nor from any action, ceremony, or custom can a belief in these things be inferred" /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):171, however, already had access to some of my conclusions which he took into account. Thus, more recent research also comes to the opinion that the Yamana are without any kind of religion. Compare the data that Cooper:148 assembled.

2. Opinions of Missionaries

771 Although the men who put themselves at the service of the
114 Fuegians through their mission work are only now being heard,
797 this does not change the well-proved fact that they were the ones who told ignorant navigators and travelers of their own experiences and observations. They were obliged, for professional reasons, so to speak, to investigate the religious ideas of their wards.

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At the beginning of their activity they occasionally mention -- as did one or another navigator, for example, Parker Snow:I, 337 -- that during a brief religious service the Fuegians who happened to be present were silent and reverent. To me this is no proof of their own religious feeling, for such an attitude is not unusual among them. Despard wrote on October 4, /1038/ 1859 (VP:VII, 81:1860), as follows: "No word has appeared for God, or Creator, or pray. They have a word for Spirit Cashpeak, and they are very uneasy at hearing it, for they say they shall see it if named" /cited in English/. He (b):698 contradicts himself, however, in the sentence: "The Firelander has no religion at all. He knows neither God, nor idol, nor spirit, and has accordingly no word for either of these" /cited in English/. Stirling, on the other hand, nowhere expresses himself definitely about the religious ideas of the Yamana.

The position of the much-quoted Bridges on this question deserves all the more consideration inasmuch as most of the travelers in Tierra del Fuego during the last decades have adopted his opinion. In 1866 he (a):181 first published a general survey of the living conditions, institutions, and customs of the Yamana. He also devoted a few lines to their conceptions of supernatural things and so-called spirits. He disposes of the religious in the true sense with a single sentence and merely says: "They have no knowledge of God, no thought of a future state, either of reward or punishment" /cited in English/. Strangely enough, Bridges did not deviate from this first opinion even after decades of association with the Yamana and often repeated it, word for word. For example, he (h):207 says: "They do not acknowledge a creator and neither have any idea of the future nor expect anything after death" /translated from Spanish/. Moreover, he (k):237 says again: "They lacked any idea of a Supreme Being, although they believed in the existence of spirits or souls... They offer no sacrifices nor have any idea of atonement for sin" /translated from Spanish/. Finally the unequivocal opinion (e):332 follows: "As for religion, we can say that they had none." If occasionally an Indian showed signs of religious feeling, Bridges put it down solely to the success of missionary influence (8).

8. Once a lame man said to him "that God struck him. It is pleasant to realize that the

1: Gusinde--958 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5106 Tafgeo 5106

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knowledge of God is taking root in the minds of the people, and that they themselves attribute to Him the acts of his providence" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 10;1876).

His co-workers in particular echoed him in this assumption, especially the younger ones. The last two of them, John Lawrence and John Williams, emphatically assured me, independently of each other, that they had never come across religious expressions among the Indians which were their own. Each of these missionaries took the view of the other without examining it and blindly adhered to this conviction. Aspinall:270 stated it once more: The Yamana "devoid of all religious ideas and duties, know nothing except the vague concept of spirits of the dead which go about in the forests and which they fear."

Thus, like the Europeans who visited the Cape Horn region, all the missionaries labored under the false impression that the Yamana are completely irreligious. Every unprejudiced critic will realize that they did not come closer to the facts because of their negative attitude toward the /1040/ Indians. Elsewhere (p. 322 /untranslated/) it was proved in detail that Bridges especially had no desire whatever for a calm and just evaluation of the store of ideas of the Indians; in fact, faced with his ill-humor, they carefully and purposely concealed what was dear to them and what he would have defamed with his disdainful, disparaging remarks. After I personally had learned many of the prayer formulas with which they address themselves to their deity, I freely expressed my pleasure. More than once on such occasions Nelly Lawrence would add: We never told Thomas Bridges these beautiful things, for he would have been scornful and ridiculed us!" At the end of my fourth journey I again presented to the worthy Reverend John Lawrence a short summary of what I had learned about the religious heritage of the Yamana. This time, too, as on my third visit, he was sincerely pleased, for it meant that shortly before the end of his life he was permitted to see corrected a false opinion of the Yamana, to which the missionaries had also contributed.

1: Gusinde--969 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5001 Yahgan 1001

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3. My Own Conclusions

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It was anything but encouraging at the start of my journeys to be faced with the strange fact that all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego, as well as all the missionaries without exception, denied with emphatic, unequivocal words that our Indians had any kind of religious view and practice. Everyone regarded the Yamana as irreligious. On my first and second visit, therefore, I consciously avoided touching upon this subject in my conversations with the members of the Lawrence family and in my contact with the Indians. Besides, there were other, more immediate problems which first had to be solved.

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The traveling investigator must be favored by fortune, otherwise his efforts are in vain. I obtained the first indications of the religious ideas of the Yamana quite incidentally and without my doing anything. One evening on my second journey I was again sitting with a group of several men who were explaining to me the ancient traditions of their tribe. It was then that I learned for the first time about their myth of a great flood which, in hoary antiquity, had inundated their present homeland. All of us who had listened with obvious seriousness to the old storyteller were silent for some time and thought about the catastrophe of that flood. Afterward one or two men made some short explanatory remarks. I now bravely ventured to ask: "Whoever sent that big flood?" Everyone present instantly became quiet and a painful silence followed. Embarrassed, they lowered their eyes and avoided my gaze so that they would not be forced to answer me. I repeated my question and in a friendly way asked for the desired explanation. Old Alfredo who had done the talking that evening replied /1941/ emphatically: "Lḷouwashipe sent that tremendous flood." When he did not add anything more, I asked: "Is Lḷouwashipe really so mighty?" Alfredo replied: "As a matter of fact it was strong Watagineiwa who sent the general flood. Lḷouwashipe prevailed upon him to do it; it was her intention to demolish the whole world. With Watagineiwa she succeeded in having the great flood come!" Naturally I asked again: "Who is this Watagineiwa?" This very obviously increased the general embarrassment and everyone present maintained strict silence. I felt as though I had been guilty of an impropriety or had ventured on dangerous ground.

/1043 cont./

I subsequently directed the conversation toward their Supreme Being on suitable occasions. I did it very considerately and with sympathetic understanding for the depressed feeling of a person who is reminded of one or several deceased persons who were dear to him whenever the name of Watauinéwa is mentioned. This gentle manner, which was shown intentionally to avoid hurting anyone, was not only comforting to all the Yamana, but steadily diminished their aversion to brief discussions about that feared spirit. In the course of time the discussions gradually became more open and free, and finally, despite a respectful attitude, were almost completely without restraint. Our own attitude toward the ideas sacred to them also helped. We neither criticized nor made fun of them; rather, we valued them highly and treated them with the same respect that they themselves showed. /1044/ Even earlier I had repeatedly heard their comparison: "Christians speak scornfully of their god, revile him and even reject him. No Yamana speaks of our Watauinéwa in this way!" It was obviously revealing to them that we, too, showed veneration toward him. Some of the Fuegians, however, continued to be reticent whenever Watauinéwa was mentioned. Although this was always done with genteel reserve, nevertheless it seemed incredible to many of them that something which they themselves revered as sacred could be the same to us.

On that third journey I was permitted to experience the youth initiation a second time (p. 186 /unexamined/), where I heard new references to Watauinéwa, which were in accordance with the ancient program for the [illegible] (p. 750). Finally on my fourth visit (p. 190 /unexamined/) I was offered an extraordinarily valuable addition to what I had previously learned with regard to a ceremony for the dead. Thus, several times, through none of my doing and quite suddenly, I came upon religious utterances of the Yamana. It was primarily for this that I sought uninterrupted and open discussions with all the older people. By doing so, I could bring to light what I have put together in the following pages. I know of no reason why they should have concealed anything from me.

There is no longer any lack of convincing explanations as to why these Fuegians have so anxiously guarded their heritage of

/1044 cont./

●114 religious ideas and practices from every stranger since their contact with European culture and why they entrusted me alone with this precious heritage, albeit under very special considerations. I must say that the same is true of my participation on two occasions in their secret youth initiation, Kina, as well as my direct experience of the men's ceremony, kina, and the school for medicine men, Hóma-yékamuš. In their opinion I proved myself worthy of this extraordinary favor.

b. Content of the Yamana Religion

771 128 It is not a serious injustice to the Fuegians if, from the start, one expects no systematic organization of their religious ideas, which do not form a complete, compact, interlocked chain of thought; in fact, wide gaps are sometimes apparent. Individual ideas are juxtaposed loosely and without connection. Although theFuegian has these ideas, he does not bother to understand them completely, and also he does not seem to feel the need of having them arranged into a coherent whole. A summary and arrangement of what is presented here as the religious heritage of the Yamana would be entirely foreign to him. I have personally undertaken it in order to present a survey and to make possible a scientific evaluation.

776 On the preceding pages Watauinéiwa, the /1045/ sole deity of the Yamana in the more limited sense of the word "religion" (p. 949), has been designated as a "Supreme Being" (10). Although

10. For the same reasons I previously likewise referred to the deity worshipped by the Selk'nam as a "Supreme Being" (Vol. I, 496).

the Fuegian does not have this conception, he in fact knows no other spirit superior to Watauinéiwa. The latter is also the only one accorded a unique power and a superior position, whereby he stands far apart from every other being. Finally, his relationships to human beings are those of an absolute master and sole lawgiver; one renders religious homage to him alone. It is only in this sense that Watauinéiwa is called a deity, as is customary in theology generally.

/1104 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
739 the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

731 Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
766 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a person who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a cormorant hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

763 The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
152 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Watagin[illegible]wa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

764 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
● 114 however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present busy themselves over him. As Bove (e):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case: "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato

/1104 cont./

(b):47 and Dabbene (b):193 say the same.

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wrapt up in skins either when buried or burned" /cited in English/. as Bridges (x):206 confirms. Nowadays the /1105/ body is straightened out and the arms are placed at the sides, because burial in the ground is now the exclusive custom. The eyelids are not closed nor is the lower jaw lifted to close the mouth. The face is quickly covered with the shroud used for the entire body which is neither decorated nor ornamented. The corpse of a yékamuč, however, is specially treated, at least the face is painted and the customary feather ornament is wound around the forehead.

A few allusions and specific statements by old people leave no doubt that formerly cremation was more common and perhaps even the exclusive custom. This is confirmed by several travelers and missionaries (44). Bridges (Mss:III,119,1869), for example, states in so many words and without any qualification: "The dead are generally burnt to ashes" /cited in English/. It may be that this custom predominated chiefly in individual districts, for quite early Bridges (VP:XI,200;1864) asserts that in the Wulaia region cremation was "the usual way of disposing of their dead" /cited in English/. It is not correct, however, to say that cremation is restricted to the yékamus (45). Nevertheless a few

44. Only the following will be mentioned: Rowe (x):118, Bridges (x):206, (y):322, and (b):209, Despard (b):698, Hyades (f):185, (p):322, and (q):278, Outes (g):56, Spegazzini (x):168, and Spencer:74. Not a single one of these most definitely asserts that he personally witnessed a cremation.

45. Despard (b):698 was the only one to surmise this and gives the following reason: "Possibly to make sure that they may never return to trouble survivors, since in their life-time these practicoers have been ever

1: Gramido--1949 8-6 (1910-1950) 1957 098 Yalgan 098

/1105 cont./

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active in mischief" /cited in English/. In this instance he (VP:XV, 110;1908) relied altogether on the uncertain accounts of J. Bolton.

older reports admit that both types of interment were simultaneously known and used, for example, Schilling (VSA:XI, 130;1904) and Despard (3):498. At first Bridges (2):206 says: "Adult persons both male and female when they die are buried shortly after by the nearest male relatives, but sometimes (especially the females) are buried. Little children are generally buried when they die" /cited in English/. Later he writes: "Usually they bury their dead, but often they are burned." I know of no other place where it is said that they differentiated between adults on the basis of sex for cremation. In fact, local conditions were decisive for both sexes alike. Osten (g):36 made a certain qualification which in this general form is surely unjustified. He says: "If the death came about as the result of a fight or murder, the corpse is generally not burned, but is abandoned" /translated from Spanish/. Finally Hyades (f):185 tried to find out "in what situation they preferred cremation. They often told me that their practice was always to burn the bones of interred natives after they had been buried a certain time, but rarely cremation is sometimes neither..." /translated from French/. These words even indicate interment twice, for which there is absolutely no certain proof. Most of my aged /1106/ informants had experienced actual cremations. Under the influence of missionaries and European settlers this custom quickly had to give way to burial, which has been done exclusively for the last few decades. During the years when Bove (e):150 was traversing the south the following was still applicable: "Formerly the dead were burned, but nowadays this rarely occurs." According to my investigations, cremation was not the exclusive custom in olden times, but it was universal and predominant.

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764 Not one of the authors mentioned above has described the procedure of burning a corpse. I, too, must rely on the accounts of my Indians who gave me the following description. The corpse, which is wrapped in a large piece of leather and tightly

/1197 words/

example; rather, the relatives themselves gave something that must be regarded as recompense for work performed and as a token of the gratitude of the survivors for this service of love. The strong incentive that inclines Fuegians to burn the corpse of every adult was the fear that animals, especially cats, otters, dogs, and foxes, would devour it or gnaw at it (46). The thought of the

> 46. There is no basis for the fear that "strangers to the tribe" might "make harpoon points out of the bones," as Kirchhoff (II) maintains.

disgusting habits of these animals made them shudder, and they wanted to make sure that the bodies would not be desecrated. Other reasons mentioned by one traveler or another are not valid. Hyades (II:335), for example, writes: "Sometimes [the dead] are burned, especially when death has taken place far from the habitual residence of the family" /translated from French/.

The following reports must also be clarified. On March 8, 1864, Stirling (VSA.XI,180;1884) landed with his company on Isla Button. He sums up in the following words what he observed there: "Here is the funeral pyre on which the body of one of Maconochie's brothers was recently burned. Here the wigwam, or framework of branches, where for a day the body lay in state. The body of James Button [who had died shortly before] has not yet been burned. It is keenly lamented. The return of his brother from Keppel Island has been waited for, and now the remains will be committed to the flames. This information is given to us in a subdued voice by Ookoldoo [who took part in this round trip]" /cited in English/. Hyades (I):143 generalizes this assertion (47).

> 47. He says: "The Fuegians do not have a funeral rite; they leave the body near their dwelling at a shallow depth and later burn the house" /translated from French/.

One might deduce from these words that after a temporary burial the body is taken out of the grave and burned. This surmise is completely erroneous and neither Stirling nor Hyades was reliably

1: Gusinde--1052 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5016 Yahgan 5016

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informed. The simple fact is that any human bones which have in any way become exposed after burial are consigned to the fire for complete decomposition. Spencer:74 may well appear as a witness for the cremation of bodies, but he is mistaken in his reasoning: "Old woman says that in olden times bodies were burned, which agrees with remnants of large fires met with in deeper parts of old middens, three and four and five feet down, where also are no shells, or very few, and only calcined light-coloured earth" /cited in English/. The ashes in the lowest layers of the shell mounds are known to be remnants of just fires which, of course, only later were /1108/ built on a layer of mussel shells (p:356). This does not contradict the fact that some corpses were buried in shell mounds.

Besides the burning of the bodies of adults in ancient times, burial in the ground was also customary, at least for children and possibly also now and then for adults. Fitz-Roy (a):181 credits all the water nomads of the Fireland Archipelago with it (48) and

> 48. He asserts: "When a person dies, his family wrap the body in skins, and carry it a long way into the woods; there they place it upon broken boughs, or pieces of solid wood, and then pile a great quantity of branches over the corpse" /cited in English/.

there is also no lack of witnesses for it from more recent times. Lovisato (b):148 certainly deserves assent when he says that "the burial of corpses in that tribe dates from the time of the Ushuaia Mission" /translated from Italian/, in contrast to cremation as a "custom also practiced today by some, but very rarely, and doggedly combatted by the missionaries" /translated from Italian/. Actually, with the coming of Europeans, cremation, which formerly was almost universal, gave way to burial in the ground exclusively. It is inaccurate to maintain that the Indians traveled to certain places solely for this purpose. According to Bridges (a):206, to whom Lovisato (b):147 refers, "small islands are preferred for burying-places, as there are no foxes to disturb the dead... Sometimes also the dead are buried at the foot of cliffs among the rocks,

1: Gusinde--1919 E-8 (1918-1924) 1937 5188 Yahgan 5788

/1108 cont./

764 in places safe from foxes" /cited in English/. The Yamana would
J14 not take so much trouble; they commonly bury a corpse not far
from the hut.

764 Soon after death the body is wrapped in pieces of leather or in strong scraps of leather and bound with long leather strips. Only occasionally is it placed on short poles which are also enclosed in the wrapping, the body being stretched out in this case. Several men who offer their services are occupied with all this for about an hour, while the rest of the people present sigh and weep. Then they lift up the body, each one putting his arm over it and pressing it against his hip, and carry it to the place agreed upon. According to my personal observation, four men arrange themselves around the corpse, two on either side. A few decades ago they chose a large shell mound. It is easy to dig a rather large hole in it with poles and oars, and the hole can be quickly and easily covered again. In recent times our Indians prefer to bury the corpse in a sandbank lying off the shore or in a low hill of coarse gravel. It is regularly laid in position on its back (49), which is

49. Only Spencer:61 maintains that the corpse is "always buried lying on back with head towards west" /cited in English/. There is no proof for this.

easy to arrange and maintain, and then covered with earth and gravel or with the mixture of sand and mussel shells. Now and then they insert a few short branches. They put a great many large stones over it to prevent dogs or predatory animals from getting at the body. If an animal should nevertheless succeed in doing so, /1109/ it is immediately killed, for the Yamana have a great aversion to seeing a corpse uncovered. Finally the spot is made to look exactly like the surroundings so as to be unrecognizable (50). Anyone

50. Hyades (g):33 has described the procedure of a burial somewhat more elaborately (cf. also Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile, Vol. XI, p. 506; Santiago, 1888). It is briefly mentioned by Lovisato (b):147, Despard (b):698, Bridges (a):206, (h):209, and Spegazzini (a):168.

/1312 cont./

X 575 171 The Selk'nam in their Kloketen ceremony (Vol. I, 808) have an arrangement in which, if one can express it thus, the two Yamana institutions of the čiéxaus and the kína are, at least outwardly, combined. The basic character and the many details of the kína embrace precisely the kinds of ideas and the means of expressing them that may be summed up as constituting an actual men's ceremony. Everything that is included in such a ceremony is more pronounced in the klóketen of the Selk'nam. This klóketen proves to be a more original form, scarcely corrupted or weakened in any way, although it is at the same time an actual initiation of youth. In order to facilitate comparison of these secret ceremonies among the two neighboring tribes, I have arranged the following description with reference to the account of the klóketen ceremony. The portrayal, which is not too voluminous, /1813/ has historical as well as factual value, because I was the X 575 123 first European to learn about the kína from personal observation and because it proved to be the last ceremony of its kind. It is a strange coincidence that I, as the first European, was permitted to experience and, through direct participation, to become intimately acquainted with the last klóketen, which the Selk'nam held in 1923, and the last kína, which the Yamana celebrated in 1922 (267).

267. I reaped important benefits from having witnessed the Kina of the Yamana before seeing the more clearly defined and elaborate form of the men's ceremony of Kloketen among the Selk'nam. I have pointed this out in a number of places; compare at least Vol. I, 816, as well as Gusinde (n):973 and (q):277.

a. Information through Europeans

X 575 114 The Kina is a secret ceremony to which, on principle, only adult men are admitted. A Yamana will very seldom speak about it in everyday life. Even when men are among themselves, the word kína is scarcely ever mentioned. This circumstance alone

X 575 114

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is enough to explain why none of the English missionaries, the Whites who have been settled there for a number of decades, or occasional visitors to that region became acquainted with the Kina of the natives. In those days the average European who traveled among primitive peoples had far less appreciation for secret ceremonies than for many other arrangements which were easy to observe with the naked eye. These travelers generally rejected such things as products of a distorted imagination and an undeveloped intellect, and they made no effort to understand them. Thus, there were reasons on both sides to explain why the Kina of the Yamana, like the secret ceremonies of other primitive peoples, did not become known earlier to Europeans. During my third journey, at my insistence, the Yamana decided to hold such a celebration (p. 186 /untranslated/). They had not held it for a long time and were therefore not quite sure about many of the details. Nevertheless, I have been able to ascertain the essential parts and to present the basic ideas of this complicated secret ceremony.

1. Earlier Accounts

The majority of the travelers who reported on our Yamana were more or less completely dependent on the English missionaries, and almost exclusively on the Reverend Thomas Bridges, in their description of the many details of the culture of these natives. Therefore, their accounts, like the little that this man set down about the Kina, are vague and contain only hints. Throughout, all the witnesses /1314/ have at best offered only short, obscure references. Their unreliable allusions are all the more useless because they do not make the underlying ideas of this ceremony comprehensible.

Here again, as has been shown with regard to many other important things in the heritage of the Yamana, only Bridges among the missionaries furnished any details worth mentioning about the Kina celebration (268). In 1866 he (a):204 hinted at it

268. Besides Bridges, the missionary Aspinall:270 very briefly mentions: "In order to maintain their rights and their

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/1314 cont./

authority as lords of creation, the men resort to secret acts which are carried on in a large group from which women are excluded." Once, in passing, Lewis mentioned that he happened to have conducted a religious service on the Wollaston Islands in 1888, "in a Toomeecoo uchr, i.e., playhouse, formerly called a 'keena,' a large wigwam, erected not to live in, but in which to perform certain initiatory rites with the youth, etc." /cited in English/ (MM:XXII, 218;1888).

for the first time in the following words: "When boys and girls come to the years of virility, they undergo a kind of discipline and teaching...It is called Ceena. During the time the father and son is at Ceena, which is from a few days to about two weeks, neither father nor son sees any female; food sent them by the women, through some man or other, daily. The ceremonies here conducted are to impose upon the women, to effect which the men make large conical masks of bark which completely cover the head; they also paint their bodies peculiarly, and when all is ready they rush out of the Ceena, and dance and jump about as nimbly as they can in view of the women, who look upon them as beings from another world" /cited in English/. He (a):212 supplements these sentences with the following: "There is a female, a woman who comes up out of the sea, into the Ceena, and does certain strange things. There is also a being who is supposed to come from above, and he also visits the Ceena during the time the discipline of the youths is being conducted" /cited in English/ (269). In these references it should be kept in

269. The passage continues: "When the youths attain thirteen or fourteen years, they are taken by their fathers or uncles to the Keena, where they sit with their eyes fixed on the floor for a long time... The youths under training called Ooshwaula.

X 375 114

/1314 cont./

> At the end of the day they come to the Keena to sleep, and to have a very insufficient repast. No women enter or even go near to the Keena, only men sleep there. Sometimes the youths are made to lie down with their faces downward, and Liacakeepa, an evil cruel being, is announced. The youth is very frightened, and dares not turn his head in order to look at this dreadful being, who is supposed to come up out of the sea. She sings a great deal, and with her club beats the earth violently close by the frightened prostrate youth, who expects every recurring blow to fall upon him; at last Liacakeepa goes away, and he is allowed to sit up again" /cited in English/.

mind -- as I have already emphasized on p.644 - that Bridges erroneously regards the so-called "kind of discipline and teaching" /cited in English/ as the only communal ceremony of the Yamana. Actually, čiéxaus and kína are two entirely different institutions.

Three years later he mentions "the wigwam called Keena, and is wholly set apart for celebrating religious ceremonies and superstitious practices. It is in these places that the youths receive their severe training, which /1315/ is to introduce them to the privileges of man's estate, and every young fellow has to undergo it" /cited in English/ (VP:III,118;1869). Bridges (e):332 and (h):208 explains the customary and frequent masking on this occasion as follows: The men "also portrayed half-dramatic, half-religious embodiments of various evil forces, but these performances, which to them were a source of excitement and amusement, took place only when a large number of them were assembled. The performers put on their masks in separate buildings which the women and children were not permitted to approach, and they were expected to show great fear of the things performed in front of them by the demon, during which he threatened them with all kinds of violence." The following in (i):17 and (h):209 belongs to this description: "The men would be occupied in the

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keena, painting and variously disguising themselves with barkhats, and smearing themselves with blood, procured by pricking the inide of their noses, to represent various characters. Some would appear as an evil being called Chinoogoo, others as another evil spirit known as Tanoowa, others again represented Ushoomeena, and others Lalacakeepa, a female demon. When all was ready, the women and children being seated outside their wigwams, these variously disguised men, unrecognizable even to their nearest relatives, would rush forth with club, spear or bow in hand, dancing and leaping about frantically, threatening the women with their weapons...In the keena they would rest and, amidst roars of laughter, discuss the merits of the different actors. All dances and amusements were accompanied with singing or chanting for the varieties of which they had special names, derived from birds and plants" /cited in English/. To supplement this, Bridges (k):239 adds: "The Yahgan have a number of dramas of a semi-superstitious nature, and for each of them there are appropriate disguises, kind of performance, and style of special songs...The personages represented are all mythological beings who are supposed to have existed in other epochs; all are perverse and have come from different places. One of them, for example, arrived on the scene from the woods, another came out of the sea, some came from the clouds, and others came out of the ground" /translated from Spanish/. The names of many Kina spirits are mentioned in BD. Altogether, therefore, Bridges gathered a considerable number of details about the Kina, although he lacked the understanding to go into them very far, to organize them, and to grasp their significance.

In comparison with what Bridges gathered through personal experience, the scant references from the pens of other travelers are negligible. The latter, without exception, depend on him. It is surprising to find in Martial:214 some ideas taken from the myth of the upheaval, in which there is a reference to the time when "women were in power" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):202 does no more than to repeat this verbatim. Hahn (c):340 and (d):44 expressed himself more specifically: "The Yahgan celebrate a festival called Kina, commemorative of the revolt of the men /1316/ against the women who, before that, had the authority in the family and held the secrets of sorcery. They

/1316 cont./

X 575 ●114 masked themselves on this occasion, shouting and dancing as long as their strength permitted" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):377, for his part, refers to "an unpublished work" of the missionary Bridges. I cite this manuscript under (i) and have just quoted the pertinent sentences. The allusions offered by Spegazzini (a):170 are quite vague and scant. A sentence in Wieghardt:30 says even less on the subject. Finally, and most recently, Spencer:111 mentions the aim of this secret ceremony in the following brief words: "The initiation of the young men is supposed to prevent women from taking their dominion over men and making them again lead a dog's life" /cited in English/. Apparently he does not know the difference between the actual youth initiation and the men's ceremony.

2. My Personal Participation

X 575 123 The vague references to the Kina celebration in widely scattered publications which were available up to the time of my journeys were not such as to give me any kind of guide, and even less so because čiéxaus and kína are almost always confused and deceptively linked. Instead, I obtained the first direct hint on my second journey from the Yamana themselves (p. 180 /untranslated/). On that occasion, when we had [illegible]d the čiéxaus, the people expressed their boundless joy over the undisturbed, smooth way in which the celebration had proceeded and also the tactful manner I had shown in taking part in it as an actual uswáala. In this connection they declared themselves willing, on a later occasion, to make it possible for me to participate a second time in the čiéxaus. This would earn me the right to enter the Kina (p.658). At that time I already knew a good deal about the procedure of this celebration; I had also learned the basic ideas of the so-called myth of the upheaval and was thus able to anticipate with confidence a regular men's festival with its definite repudiation of the influence of the female world.

In that year, when I again took leave of the Yamana who were very affectionate toward me, I told them that I expected to come back the following summer, and, as a matter of fact,

/1435 cont./

X756 182 basic features of their mental attitude. Legend puts the origin of the medicine-man system outside the boundaries of present-day Yamana territory and connects it with the Kina. Mašemikens designated Hešpul, Yo'okalia, and other birds as the first yékamuš (pp. 1268, 1271 /both untranslated/). "They taught their art to a few people and that is how it came to us!" There is no connection between the medicine-man system and the other institutions of our Fuegians; it is clearly a peculiar form within their culture as a whole.

G. Mental Capacity

181 No people on American soil has been rated as low and esteemed as little by the entire European world as our Yamana. 114 The seed for this unjust opinion was sown by the crew of the Dutch fleet of L'Hermite, the first Europeans seen by the inhabitants of the Cape Horn Archipelago (p. 50 /untranslated/). The description that enjoyed the most notoriety was the inadequate and inaccurate account set down by Charles Darwin, then 22 years old (p. 97 /untranslated/). Although he occasionally made an accurate statement in his writings (343) and, as an old

> 343. He (f):I, 234 said: "The Fuegians belong among the lowest savages; I was constantly surprised, however, at how closely the three Fuegians on board the 'Beagle' ...resembled us in general traits and in most of our mental abilities."

man, changed his opinion very much in favor of our Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/), nevertheless this did not effect the bias of the general public. Anyone who leafs through the amazingly large number of accounts by missionaries (p. 146 /untranslated/) will find it strange that the latter almost uniformly speak disparagingly, indeed, contemptuously of the mental performance of these natives, and their opinions of them have not improved despite decades of contact. Bridges outdoes all the other

/1435 cont./

181 114 missionaries in his underestimation of the entire cultural heritage of our Fuegians (p. 323 /untranslated/), and none of the missionaries would have succeeded in persuading him otherwise. The Yamana soon realized that Bridges, with emphatic disdain, rejected their ideas and customs, which, without exception, were valuable to them and worthy of respect. Consequently they drew away from him and /1436/ made many of their spiritual possessions unavailable to him (p. 144 /untranslated/). Their attitude did not change even when Bridges, in exceptional cases, spoke a brief word in their favor (344). Actually, Bridges was the

> 344. These statements, such as the one in (i):12, therefore have much more value for an outsider: "These natives have usually been described as a great deal worse than they were. I well know they were bad enough as all ignorant, lawless people must be, but they were falsely reported to be cannibals, and the sketches of them have been rather caricatures than likenesses" /cited in English/.

adviser and the decisive source of information for all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego who consulted him during his long years of missionary activity. His many publications were also regarded as those of an authoritative observer whom others had no opportunity to correct. Although the members of the Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, for example, maintained close contact with a group of natives there for an entire year, nevertheless their publications prove how dependent they were on Bridges, especially in their evaluation of the spiritual equipment and mental assets of the Yamana. This state of affairs explains the uniformly low opinion of almost all the travelers who commented on the mental capacity of our Fuegians. Nevertheless, favorable testimony, such as that of Snow (b):266, is not altogether lacking: "I will only venture to call your attention to the fact, that these savages have a heart and feeling as well as we have. And I saw many instances of warm love and affection for the children, and for each other" /cited in English/.

/1436 cont./

181 114 Experts on primitive peoples soon cast doubt upon the trustworthiness of all those reports on Tierra del Fuego, and from insignificant accounts as well as fair judgments, they brought out many a favorable detail. Waitz:507 emphasized: "One must not believe that the mental dullness [of the Fuegians] prevails throughout among them... The four Fuegians whom Captain Fitz-Roy took with him to London showed altogether good qualities." Ratzel:I, 520 appreciates their material possessions and social institutions. Beyond that he declares: "The more one learned of their sensibilities and mental capacities upon closer contact, the higher one evaluated them in this respect. The Fuegians, even though they are oppressed by the misery of their situation, are basically Indians like all the rest. The inadequate results of missions cannot prove anything to the contrary." Thus, if the Yamana are judged to be genuine Indians, they must also be regarded as capable human beings. The fact that they are indeed such is convincingly proved by their way of life which has been described in the foregoing pages. The following pages will be a not inconsiderable supplement to this. It seems strange to us who have been privileged to obtain such deep insight into the mental life of most of the primitive peoples still available today that it seems necessary to prove that the Yamana, too, are altogether human beings.

/1437/ a. Mental Power and Sensory Activity

153 182 I regard as beside the point the oft-repeated question as to whether the Yamana are an "intelligent people" and capable of meeting the demands of our culture. One will obtain a just evaluation of their mental powers only after he has learned to understand the Fuegians with respect to their mastery of their environment. They have adapted themselves excellently to their country: they have learned to use the available materials for serviceable implements and have asserted their superiority in their struggle with the forces of nature. Indeed, they maintain themselves in their environment and have attained several not inconsiderable achievements of which many Europeans would be

/1459 cont./

spread over it; the latter is a reliable remedy for growths resembling carbuncles. Pustules are daubed and rubbed gently with saliva. Fresh small twigs and leaves of Macrocystis are put on swellings; they develop a slimy substance which is allowed to take effect. Fresh barberry shavings are put on an aching tooth. Loose teeth are broken and pulled out with the fingers. Hyades (p):339 says something that I cannot confirm from my own observations: "Insanity, if it exists, is very rare. The mad are treated with cold baths" /translated from French/. A broken arm is treated by first placing thin sticks and a few pieces of leather around it; then this is bound with stout strips of leather. The bandage is kept in place until the pain and swelling have subsided. These are the procedures that the Fuegians know for helping themselves in case of accidents and physical ailments.

7. The Language

It is well known that the language of the Yamana has often been described in general accounts and there is an astonishing amount of material. Many a writer has let himself be carried away in repeated references to an unusually rich vocabulary. Bridges himself started this trend. I tried to explain in (gg):162 why he said that his dictionary contained 32,430 words. I have also emphatically pointed out that the Yamana language does not have that number of words and that a rich vocabulary by no means indicates a high level of development for this language. "Quite the contrary," I (hh):183 said earlier, "one will recognize the considerable poverty of a language from the fact that it requires many words." Long before, Garbe:336 pointed to this decisive condition. No one is to be blamed for the fact that a critical study of Yamana grammar as a whole has not yet been carried out -- F. Hestermann worked on a number of parts -- /1460/ for texts are lacking. The comprehensive dictionary of the Reverend T. Bridges was only published in 1933 by Hestermann and Gusinde, and the well-known translations of the New Testament that Bridges made six decades ago are not suitable for this purpose. I, too, should not be reproached and told that I failed to collect original texts. To exonerate myself, I may point out that on my journeys I was

/1460 cont./

192 completely absorbed by no less urgent tasks. Serious consideration should also be given to the fact that the language in use today has been altered and corrupted as a result of the banding together of the last survivors of the five original dialect groups and their contact with European culture. For example, their own word for "nothing" has dropped out of use completely, and old and young have substituted "nothing" /cited in English/ for it. I was thus faced with the lamentable fact that at the beginning of my journeys it was too late to record the pure, uncorrupted linguistic heritage of the Yamana. However, I was still able to determine the boundaries of the former dialect groups, as I called them (p. 199 /untranslated/), and the phonetic system. Compare Gusinde (s):1000.

197 This is not the place to describe in detail the more important peculiarities of Yamana grammar. Nor need I repeat that in (hh): 183 I maintained that "the low stage of development of the language is in perfect agreement with the whole mental constitution of the Yamana as it is revealed in other areas. This does not in the least cast any doubt on the fact that these Indians, judged by their mental capacity, are fully mature human beings." For the time being one must regard Yamana as an isolated language which is not even closely related to neighboring Selk'nam and Halakwulup. Comparative studies will show whether Yamana can be related to the meager remains of a definite Chaco language.

193 Only the following characteristics of this language will be mentioned. The root and the word are seldom the same. Usually verb and noun are separated; this is less often true of adjective and substantive in the noun, but always of the pronoun. Word formation, as well as every other grammatical formation, occurs through the use of actual prefixes and suffixes. Verbs and nouns abound in formations. The richest of all is the pronoun; on this account it has a prominent place among all the other languages of the world. Nouns are monosyllabic and polysyllabic, the latter being always recognizable as compounds. Often prefix and suffix occur in the same formation. There is no grammatical gender, but number and case are all the more elaborate. The noun has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, the last two being formed only with suffixes. The genitive is prominent.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5316 Yahgan 5316

131 contact, barter, and intermarriage with the *Ona;* between Brecknock Peninsula and the western end of Beagle Channel, with the *Alakaluf*.

101 **Names and divisions.**—The *Yahgan* called themselves *Yámana*, "human beings." They were first called *Yahgan* by the Rev. Thomas Bridges, from Yahga, the native name for the Murray Narrows region, a locality much frequented by some of them. *Yámana* would be preferable for anthropological use, but *Yahgan* is so well established in the literature that we are retaining it in the Handbook. The *Yahgan* recognized five subdivisions, each with its own aboriginal name: a southern, an eastern, a central, a western, and a southwestern (Koppers, 1917, p. 468; 1924 a, pp. 158–159; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 199–206; Lothrop, 1928, p. 120, map opp. p. 24). These subdivisions differed more dialectically than culturally.

114 **History of investigation.**—The *Yahgan* were first visited and described by Jacques L'Hermite in 1624. The next important landmark was the *Beagle* expeditions under Admiral Robert Fitz-Roy in 1829–32. It is, however, to the Rev. Thomas Bridges that we are indebted for our first intimate insight into *Yahgan* culture and linguistics. The Italo-Argentinian expedition in 1882 and the French Cape Horn expedition in 1882–83 made important advances in *Yahgan* somatology but were largely indebted to Bridges for their cultural and linguistic data. The field studies of Fathers Martin Gusinde in 1919–23 and Wilhelm Koppers in 1922 served to complete the picture, particularly as regards social and magico-religious life. Samuel K. Lothrop's field study of 1924–25 (1928, 1932 a) rounded out our knowledge of *Yahgan* technology. The only remaining gap is that of archeology, a gap in part filled by Vignati and by Lothrop, and more recently by Junius Bird in 1932–37.

The more valuable first-hand sources on the *Yahgan* from 1624 to 1917 are: Bove (1882, 1883: the two identical on culture); T. Bridges (1866, 1886, 1892, 1893); Dabbene (1911); Despard (1863); C. W. Furlong (1909, 1917 a); Hyades (1885); Hyades and Deniker (1891: of basic importance); Lovisato (1883, 1885); South American Missionary Magazine (1854–); Spegazzini (1882). The anthropological information given in these and the other sources up to 1917 is analysed and made available in Cooper (1917). Since 1917, the most important contributions are: Lothrop (1928), for technology; Koppers (1924) and especially Gusinde (1937), for all phases of culture, particularly the social and religious ones; Von Hornbostel (1936), for music; T. Bridges (1933), for language and general culture; Vignati (1927) and Bird (1938), for archeology; Gusinde (1939), for physical anthropology.

Gusinde's exhaustive monograph, "Die Yamana" (1937), based mostly on his and Koppers' field studies and in part on a thorough combing of the literature, gives nearly all that is known of *Yahgan*

J: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 S316 Yahgan S316

culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1931–32, 1934, 1935 a, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 c, 1937, 1938 b, 1939); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1937, 1938 a, 1938 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrup (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and edited sources, and for evaluations (pp. 48–381) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

Language.—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana*-English dictionary, the one completed in 1879, contains about 32,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

Population.—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 600; by 1899, to 200; by 1908, to 130; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1923 to 60. The immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Foods.—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesticated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistade, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 13 accounts of them prior to Narbrough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1833 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp. 186–187). Dogs were not eaten.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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PREFACE

THIS account of the natives of Tierra del Fuego is the result of a three months' visit to the island, accompanied by Mr. J. Linase Weld, during the summer of 1924-25. We studied Ona Indians at three settlements: one at the southeast corner of Lake Fagnano, one to the northeast of the same lake, and the third lying east of the Laguna de Pescados. Yahgan Indians were encountered at Tierra Mayor, Cambaceres bay, Goble island, and Puerto Mejillones on Navarin island.

Although the time available was short, aids to study were unusual. Thus, Cooper's "Bibliography" offered in a readily available form an accurate analysis of previous work, with an exception to be noted presently. Furthermore, the help of three intelligent white men—Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence,—all intimately acquainted with the Indian lore and languages, made it possible to procure accurate data with unusual celerity and facility. All the information thus obtained was checked by the Indians and vice versa, while just before I left the island Mr. William Bridges most kindly went over all my notes and vocabularies. Therefore I feel confident that they are detailed and accurate.

In planning my work, owing to the limited time available it seemed wise to concentrate on obvious and concrete problems which could be covered with reasonable thoroughness. Although the studies of Gusinde and Koppers[1] had not then appeared in print, I was told that they had worked chiefly on the religion, initiation ceremonies, folklore, and linguistics. Hence my most profitable course was to devote myself primarily to the material culture and technology. This decision was fostered by the fact that both tribes had been reduced almost to extinction by a recent epidemic of influenza, so that the older men who once took part in native rites had died almost without exception. Secondly, on Beagle channel a thorough examination of camp-sites was undertaken with a view of determining their nature and age so far as

[1] Consult the Bibliography in the appendix.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 192
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CARTOGRAPHY

After the discovery, Tierra del Fuego fell for a veil of romantic mysticism spun long ago by Grecian philosophers and embroidered by scholars of the Middle Ages, for it became linked with the fabulous Terra Australis, the antichthon, a counter-world of the ancients. Here, it was reasoned, dwelt the antipodes, who walked feet to feet with the peoples of Europe, in a land where the trees grew downward and the rains and snows fell upward. With the coming of Christianity this postulated continent was banned by

FIG. 1.—Magellan discovering Tierra del Fuego.

the church,[1] for theologians were "scandalized by the suggestion that somewhere on the face of the sphere were existed a race of men who were not of the seed of Adam, and therefore outside the scope of human redemption."[2] Yet belief in this southern continent did not die, but lingered in men's minds. Dante placed his "Hill of Purgatory" in the center of a southern continent.

With the discovery of the Straits of Magellan an accomplished fact, European geographers believed that the Terra Australis of

[1] Augustine, De Civitate Dei, xvi, 9. "Quod vero antipodes esse fabulantur, id est homines in contraria parte terrae ubi sol oritur quando occidit nobis, adversa pedibus nostris habere contra, nulla ratione credendum est."

[2] Payne, History of the New World called America, I, p. 45.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

the ancients had emerged from the realm of fancy, and they showed Tierra del Fuego on their maps as part of a vast circumpolar antarctic continent, separated from South America by the straits Magellan discovered. The vagueness of their ideas is brought out by illustrations such as fig. 1, which pictures an elephant-bearing roc in flight over the masthead of Magellan's *Victoria*, while enticing mermaidens disport alongside in the waters called Pacific from a rare moment of tranquillity.

That the cartographers were at fault might soon have been suspected, for in 1526 one of the ships under the command of Loayza ran southward along the east coast of Tierra del Fuego to "where it appeared there was an end to the land."[1] In 1540 one of the ships of Camargo sailed through the Straits of Le Maire and passed the winter somewhere on the south side of Tierra del Fuego, perhaps in Beagle channel, before returning to Spain. The name of this ship and of its captain is unknown, but part of the log has been preserved.[2] Neither of these voyages, however, attracted the attention of geographers. In 1578 Sir Francis Drake, having successfully passed the Straits of Magellan, was blown southward from Cape Pilar to the Wollaston islands, and the result of his unwilling course is reflected in a map published in Amsterdam by Cornelius Clarz in 1598. In 1616 the Dutchmen Schouten and Le Maire weathered the surf-ringed headland which they named Cape Horn, and, continuing their voyage across the Pacific, thereby definitely established that Tierra del Fuego is an island. When this voyage came to the attention of the Spanish crown, its importance was at once admitted, because it opened to the Far East a road over which Spain had no claim. Hence an expedition was despatched in 1619 under the brothers Nodal to gather exact information for their government. The resultant voyage was favored with fortune and the ships were the first completely to circumnavigate Tierra del Fuego, and also, I believe, the first to complete a voyage in Magellanic waters without loss of life. In 1643 another Dutchman, Brouwer, sailed along the eastern and southern coast of Staaten island. With this voyage the unreality of an antarctic continent near South America was fully established, yet the misconception, or at any rate the old

[1] Relación of Andrés de Urdaneta, in Fernández de Navarrete's Colección de los Viages y Descubrimientos, v, p. 402, Madrid, 1837.

[2] Early Voyages to the Straits of Magellan, Sir Clements Markham, tr. et ed., Hakluyt Soc., ser. II, vol. XXVIII, London, 1911.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SHS Yahgan SHS

map plates, persisted in Europe until well into the eighteenth century. For instance, the map in the 1730 edition of Harrera's *Descripción* depicts Tierra del Fuego as extending indefinitely to the south.

Traditionally Tierra del Fuego received its name from the flickering lights of camp-fires seen by Magellan. A variant tale is that Magellan called it Tierra del Humo, "Land of Smoke," and that Charles V changed the name to Tierra del Fuego, jocosely remarking that where there was smoke there must be fire. However, I suspect that some idea of Dante's Purgatory underlies the name, because an active volcano (actually non-existent) appears on maps of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and even eighteenth centuries. I have before me a 1799 edition of Anson in which the map shows a "Volcan de Brindendo Berg" in active eruption on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego.

HISTORY AND LITERARY SOURCES

In the preceding section we have mentioned several writings which were of importance in the development of geographical knowledge. This list might be greatly extended. Fagalde (1901) summarizes more than fifty voyages of scientific interest, completed before the end of the eighteenth century, but unfortunately with all ethnological data omitted. Much of this information may be gleaned, however, from De Brosses' *Histoire des Navigations* or Barclay's *The Land of Magellan*. Yet in truth it must be said that early contact with the natives was casual and brief, while the descriptions of ethnological significance apply usually to Indians north of the Straits of Magellan.

During the second half of the eighteenth century a general awakening to the importance of scientific investigations permeated Europe, with the result that various scholars were despatched to Latin America by the Spanish government. Fuegian waters were visited at this time by several surveying parties, and the basis of an accurate knowledge of the region was laid down. The general results of these investigations will be found in De Vargas Ponce's *Relación*. With the rise of Napoleon, however, Spain had no resources to spare for continuing this work, while the collapse of Spanish authority in the New World brought a definite end to it.

Great Britain had emerged from the Napoleonic wars as the dominant sea power. With growing colonial and commercial

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
Ship Yahgan Ship

interests in the Far East, the route thither by way of Tierra del Fuego became a matter of national importance, so that surveying expeditions under the command of Captain King and later Captain Fitzroy were despatched to Magellanic waters.[1] Captain Fitzroy brought back to England after his first voyage a Yahgan and three Alacaluf Indians. On his second voyage he was accompanied by Charles Darwin, the celebrated naturalist. The era of exact and scientific study of the natives of Tierra del Fuego was thus initiated.

Fitzroy's and Darwin's account of the Fuegians attracted wide notice in England, while the primitive society, destitution, and ferocity they pictured engendered a desire to Christianize that far-off people. The public in England were further roused by the fate of Captain Allen Gardiner and his companions, amateur missionaries who died of privation and exposure under tragic circumstances in 1851.[2] As a result the South American Missionary Society was organized and a mission station was set up on Keppel island (West Falklands). In 1856 this station was placed in charge of Comm. G. Pakenham Despard, who brought with him a thirteen-year-old adopted boy, Thomas Bridges. Young Bridges soon learned to speak the Yahgan tongue fluently. In 1859 he returned to England, where he was ordained and married. The following year he founded at Ushuaia the first mission station on Tierra del Fuego. With him he brought as an assistant John Lawrence.[3] After many years' labor as a missionary Mr. Bridges retired, and in recognition of his services in opening up the country was given a land grant at Harberton by the Argentine government where he raised sheep. Mr. Lawrence received a similar grant at Remolino.

Bridges and Lawrence children were born on Beagle channel on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego, and were reared in close association with the Yahgan Indians. The Lawrence family, who still live at Remolino, today have an unsurpassed knowledge of Yahgan customs and linguistics. The Bridges brothers, as they grew up, began to explore to the north and east across the mountains, and finally secured for themselves a vast property on the east coast, today a flourishing sheep ranch known as the Estancia

[1] See Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. S. Adventure and Beagle, 3 vols., London, 1839.

[2] For a full but sentimental account of this event see James Page, "Captain Allen Gardiner," London, n.d.

[3] A full account of these events is given in the booklet by John C. Morris, Four Pioneers of the South American Mission, London, 1872.

Vancouver. Their peregrinations through the heart of the island brought them in close contact with the Ona tribe. Indeed, they were the first white men to establish friendly relations with the Ona, and two of the brothers, Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges, later were formally initiated as members of the tribe by the ceremony herein described.

We have adopted this story at some length because on much knowledge of ethnological interest depends on it. The elder Mr. Bridges has left among his reports to the missionary society a mine of ethnological information, while Mr. Lawrence's observations are also valuable. In addition Mr. Bridges has written several articles dealing directly with native life, published in various scientific journals, and he has left a manuscript to himself in what is probably the most extensive study of primitive linguistics ever carried out. Of this we shall have more to say.

Beside the contributions from the pen of Mr. Bridges, he aided greatly the success of the scientific studies made by the Argentine, French, and Italian governments in Tierra del Fuego during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The important works of Hyades and Deny gain authority from this association. In recent years the Bridges' children, especially Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges, have augmented practically all the information about the Ona tribe which has found its way into print. Indeed (without detracting from the merits of any writer) it may be said that the importance of most published data on the Ona varies according to whether or not the information was obtained from this generous and hospitable family.

After the Argentine government had established itself on Ushuaia a gold rush to Tierra del Fuego took place, which caused the claiming of many undesirables. The result of this sudden contact with Europeans was disastrous to the native tribes.

The history of white settlement of the island emanating from the missionary post in the south is one of kindly dealing with the native races. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the north. Sheep were introduced into the northern part of Tierra del Fuego in 1878, and trouble with the natives immediately ensued, for while the Indians had no objection to somebody stocking their game tracts, at the same time they maintained their right to hunt the "white guanaco" on lands which they regarded as their own. Recently the hard-pressed gauchos of whom has now become a

b: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1929) 1928
2366 Tehgra 2366

great industry objected to having their sheep killed, and they retaliated by killing the Indians.

These then were sprung into being a class of professional bush hunters, recruited from the shepherds and miners, who received one pound sterling from the ranchers for each Indian bush—man, woman, or child. The Indians, on foot and armed with bows and arrows, had little chance in the open plains against horsemen with rifles. Some of the atrocities committed in the '90's are recounted by Father Rafael,[1] the writer heard from distant and trustworthy sources many similar tales of brutality.

In 1891 a Salesian mission was established on Dawson Island, and in 1893 a second station went up at Cape Peñas and later transferred to Río Grande. Although dedicated for three-quarters of a century to the eradication of troublesome Indians, the Government decided to stop the scandals arising from head-hunting by turning the Indians over to the missions. To this end troops scoured the country, rounded up the natives, and drove them like cattle to the mission stations. Families were mercilessly broken up. Strange foods caused sickness and neglected the belief that they were being poisoned. Unaccustomed European clothes and indoor quarters—in so many well-intended missionary efforts—brought pneumonia and tuberculosis, and engineered the effect of their vitamin-deficient diet. Liquor and venereal diseases, against which Indians have surprisingly little resistance, both took their toll. Few indeed survived the "civilizing" process. Today the Dawson Island mission has been abandoned. The east-coast mission still existed in 1929, ostensibly to support two aged native women in idleness, in reality as a prosperous sheep ranch.

The record of the white settlers in Tierra del Fuego, with of course certain splendid exceptions, is not one to be reviewed with pride; nor the Indians but Europeans have proved the greater savages. Missionary efforts, however well intended, have hastened the course of their neighbors to the grave. No more striking example can be adduced of the importance of anthropological and medical training for those who would change the religion and alter the habits of backward peoples.

One of the chief ethnological results of the northern missions has been the establishment of the Museo Regional "Mayorino Borgatello" at Punta Arenas. Unfortunately the ethnological

[1] 1933, p. 177-180.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

section of this institution, especially rich in Alacaluf and Ona material, has never been adequately organized, so that in 1924 it was musty, moth-eaten, and unlabeled. A more permanent result of the Salesian efforts is the detailed linguistic study of Father José Maria Beauvoir. Also we must mention the most extraordinary photographic record of Alberto M. De Agostini.

A more detailed discussion of Fuegian anthropological literature by the present writer would be superfluous in view of the very thorough and critical study published in 1917 by the Reverend Dr. John M. Cooper, now of the Catholic University of America at Washington. In the appended bibliography I have listed those works to which reference is made in this volume and have added thereto all the titles I can find which have appeared in the last ten years in order to form a supplement to Father Cooper's admirable treatment of the subject.

THE INDIANS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

The natives of Tierra del Fuego were divided into three linguistic stocks or four tribal groups known to modern students as the Ona and Haush, Yahgan, and Alacaluf (pl. IV). These terms, of which variously spelled versions are found, come for the greater part from the Yahgan tongue because of the early missionary contact with that tribe. Haush is an Ona word. Alacaluf seems to have been employed by the group thus named to designate themselves and was also used by the Yahgan. The intertribal nomenclature is as follows:

English	Yahgan	Ona
Yahgan	Yámana[1]	{Wówun (man) Áflen (woman)
Ona	Óna	Shílknam[2]
Alacaluf	Alacaluf	Aírro
Haush	Italum Óna	Haúsh

[1] In recent years several writers have used this word to designate the tribe in place of the older term *Yahgan*. Were the tribe to be named for the first time, current practice would dictate the choice of *Yamana*, but *Yahgan* has been the accepted name of the group for many years and is found in most ethnological literature; hence I have continued to use it. For similar reasons I have used *Ona* instead of *Shílknam*. Likewise I have retained the tribal name *Alacaluf* in place of the recently introduced and no doubt more phonetically correct *Halakwúlup*. Such changes of terms long recorded in print form a stumbling-block to the general reader and at the same time contribute little or nothing to the specialist.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Materials

wood	wood
sinew	sinew
skin	skin
stone	stone
bone	bone
whalebone (rare)	whalebone
——	kelp
grass	grass
feathers	feathers
——	pumice
white clay	white clay
red burnt earth	red burnt earth
charcoal	charcoal
pitch (post-European)	——
iron (post-European)	iron (post-European)
glass (post-European)	glass (post-European)

PHYSICAL TYPE

The writer engaged in no anthropometric investigation in Tierra del Fuego, but certain measurements are available by which the physical types there to be found may be determined. The most important study yet published is that of Hyades (1891) on the Yahgan prepared in coöperation with Deniker, a work surprisingly sound in method considering how long ago it appeared. A series of measurements on the Ona taken many years ago but printed recently (1927) by Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche is also of prime importance. Somatological data collected by Gusinde and Koppers in recent years is beginning to appear in print, but with a single exception it has not been possible to obtain copies in time to incorporate the material here. Other studies of smaller scope are available and have been listed by Cooper (1917, pp. 138–140) and Dixon (1923, pp. 454–455). Even when concentrated into a single group, Fuegian somatological material is not abundant.

Primary division of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego into groups, Foot Indians and Canoe Indians, is made on cultural grounds. This classification might also be based on physical type, and, in case of the Foot Indians, on linguistic relationship. As with the cultural evidence, physical data on the Alacaluf and Haush are so scanty that we shall confine our discussion to the Ona and the Yahgan.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

been a source of contention. Intelligent and amicably intended travelers through ignorance of native customs may easily wound native feelings to the point of rousing open hostility. Of the looting of ships and robbing of their crews, it is but just to remark that the Yahgan, although recognizing personal property, habitually shared their provisions with one another. Also, among primitive people in general the robbing or tricking of strangers often is considered entirely ethical or even especially deserving of praise, though the same performance at the expense of a relative or a friend might be condemned. The Yahgan have suffered in public esteem because their morality has been judged on the basis of Christian ethics.

Language

The Yahgan tongue, although it has been studied since the visit of Darwin, as yet is thought to be related to no other New World language. Through missionary labors, chiefly those of the Rev. Thomas Bridges, three large vocabularies have been compiled. Of these one containing about 4000 words on 137 pages in Mr. Bridges' handwriting is still in possession of the Bridges family in Tierra del Fuego. It covers only eleven initial letters. Inside the front cover is written: "Begun this June 19th, 1879." A second vocabulary compiled by Mr. Bridges, aided by several lay members of the English mission, contains about 12,000 words. It is now in possession of the Rev. John Williams in Punta Arenas. Finally, there exists in Belgium a Yahgan vocabulary in two volumes of about 32,430 words written on 1081 pages. It is the result of Mr. Bridges' life-long contact with the Yahgan extending from 1856 until his death in 1898. During his later years, according to his sons, he was continually working over this manuscript. After his death it was lent to Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who had been to Tierra del Fuego with the Belgian Antarctic expedition in 1897 and 1899. Cook removed the manuscript to Belgium, where it has since remained. Plans for its publication were interrupted by the World War.

For printed source-material in Yahgan, students are further indebted to Mr. Bridges for translations of the gospels of St. Luke and St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles. All these, as well as his manuscript dictionaries, are written in the Ellis alphabet. The Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas has translated the collects and morning and evening prayers into Yahgan, and also has

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published a broadsheet with the Lord's prayer. Both are written in the ordinary alphabet with a ˘ to denote the short vowels and soft *g*.

As for the nature of the Yahgan tongue, in direct contrast to Ona, it is soft and pleasant to the ear. There is a great abundance of vowel sounds, and the pronunciation of consonants presents no difficulties. The line between *p* and *b* is loosely drawn. There is a soft and a hard *g*, and also a soft *ch* sound (*q*).

According to Mr. Fred. Lawrence, of Remolino, generally regarded as the best living authority on the Yahgan language, in the old days there were five distinct dialects, distributed as follows:

1. Central dialect, including Ushuaia and Murray narrows. This is the speech recorded in the Bridges dictionaries.
2. Eastern dialect, spoken from Harberton eastward and on Lennox island, New island, etc.
3. Western dialect, found from Cape Divide westward.
4. Wollaston Islands dialect.
5. New Year's Sound dialect, spoken to the south and west of False Cape Horn and on the southern part of Hoste island.

These dialects are said to have differed from one another as much as Scotch from Cockney; that is to say, they were mutually intelligible but there was wide variation in accent and the choice of words. Thus the double-barbed harpoon is *watki* in the west and *wek* in the east; the fish-spear is *ushá·waia* in the east and *shushróya* in the central dialect; bark of the *Nothofagus betuloides* is *aitrshu* in the east and *atirshun* at Ushuaia; a sling is *mata·wá* in the east and *watewá* in the central dialect, etc. Today it is difficult to know just what dialect one is hearing, because the few surviving Yahgan live together much of the time and have fused their speech. However, the fact that considerable divergence once existed within such a small geographical limit indicates that but little movement of the tribe as a whole had taken place for centuries, at least.

The Yahgan words in the present text were obtained chiefly from Mr. William Bridges and Mr. Fred. Lawrence, who speak the central dialect; from William, born at Halupaf (see fig. 98); from Walter, a Lennox islander; from Charley, son of a Haush called Inioih and a Yahgan woman; from Mary, a westerner. The four Indians mentioned were all mission-reared and therefore today